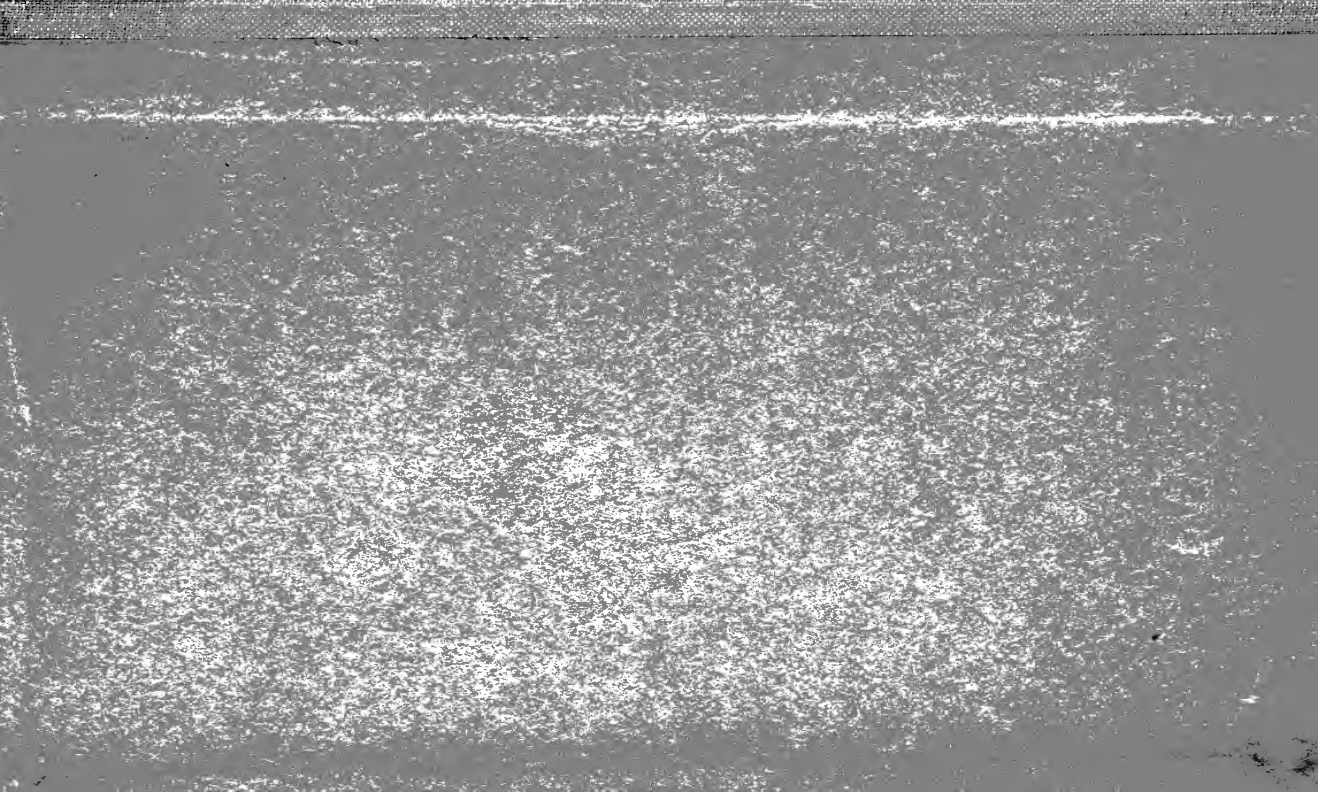

An Erasmus
Faulkner

Men of the Kingdom

Erasmus: The Scholar

By

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PREFACE

I HAVE used the Basel edition of the Works of Erasmus, 9 vols., 1540, and have occasionally referred to the Leyden edition, 10 vols., 1703-06. Where translations were available I have used them; as, the old English translation of the *Enchiridion*, reprinted by Methuen, Lond., 1905; the Rev. E. Johnson's edition of N. Bailey's *Colloquies*, 2 vols., Lond., 1875; the selections from the same by Professor Whitcomb for the historical series of the University of Pennsylvania, Phil., 1902; the Rev. James Copner's translation of the *Praise of Folly*, Lond., 1878; and the invaluable collection of Erasmus's letters to 1517 (*The Epistles of Erasmus*), arranged chronologically with scholarly introductions and comments by Francis Morgan Nichols, 2 vols., Longmans, 1901, '04. (A new complete edition of the Epistles in Latin has been begun by P. S. Allen, an enthusiastic Erasmus scholar, with an elaborate commentary, Vol. I, Oxford Univ. Press, 1906.)

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aufblühen der Klassichen Studien in Deutschland, Halle, 1864; Smith (Henry Goodwin), The Triumph of Erasmus in Modern Protestantism, in *The Hibbert Journal*, Oct., 1904, 64–82; Stähelin, R., *Erasmus: Stellung zur Reformation*, Basel, 1873 (35 pages), long review of Drummond in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, 755–80, and art. in the Herzog-Hauck *Encyk.* 3 Aufl. V 434–44 (1898); Stichart, *Erasmus s. Stellung zu der Kirche u. zu den Kirchlichen Bewegungen s. Zeit*, Leipz., 1870; Seback (rev. by Streber), art. in the Wetzer-Welte *Kirchenlexicon*, 2 Aufl. IV, 727–43 (1886); Tögel, *Die pädagogischen Anschaungen des Erasmus*, Dresd., 1896 (XIV, 130 pages); Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classichen Alterthums*, 2 vols., 3 Aufl., Berl., 1893; Wagenmann, in *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.*, 1874, 325–6; von Walter, *Das Wesen der Religion nach Erasmus und Luther*, Leipz., 1906; and Woodward, *Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, Cambr., Eng., 1904.

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CHAPTER I.

WHAT WAS THE RENAISSANCE?

THAT wonderful revival of literature, science, and art in the century or two immediately preceding the Reformation—a revival which we generally call the Renaissance, and in its German phase Humanism—we owe to Greek Christianity. We are sometimes inclined to think of the Byzantine Church of the Middle Ages as practically dead so far as we of the West are concerned. It is true it did not have the practical instinct and theological progressiveness of the Latin Church, but it was by no means a neutral factor in the history of civilization. About the middle of the ninth century it woke up to surprising activity, and—what is more wonderful—it kept itself on this height for six hundred years. And this Byzantine culture was the more earnest in its zeal, the more hopeless were the prospects of the present and future. Especially was this true of classical studies, which had been largely forgotten since the sixth century. Men began to brush the dust from the classical manuscripts hidden in their old libraries, and with astonishing zeal to study them. "The

Hellenic spirit had, of course, long lost its creative power, the freshness of its life. The glorious aim of their time, therefore, was limited to explanatory reproduction and to learnedness. On theology, stiffened and bound in traditional principles and Aristotelian formulas, the revival of classical studies had relatively small influence, but where it broke the chains it opened the door for the pressing in of the heathen-Hellenic world-view."

Bradas, the energetic guardian of Michael III and regent (842 ff), however bad he was, has the honor of being the first to restore classical culture. He established schools for such studies, and paid their teachers. His successors continued the same, and under the Comnena dynasty (1057 ff) the same, if not greater, devotion was shown. Two of the Comnena princesses, Eudocia and Anna, were themselves brilliant representatives. When the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 scattered the Greek scholars, it was to the infinite gain of the West, one of the few compensations of the saddest phase of modern history—the foothold of the Turks in Europe. All along there had been more or less intercourse between the scholars of East and West, and the stimulus of that intercommunion reached a climax in the great Council of Florence in 1439.

Voigt discusses the question as to how far the West was ready to take up classical literature. He says that that literature was never an entire

stranger, that in the Middle Ages there were always some who knew Greek. But with that knowledge there was no spiritual effect, at least not such as could graft a new shoot on Latin culture. In Rome itself, after the separation of the Eastern from the Western Church, where for a century the Hellenic spirit had penetrated the best circles, there was a complete rejection of this spirit for a time. Still here and there in Italy there were priests who knew Greek and grammarians who taught it. At the time when Paul the Deacon taught this language, probably at Pavia (about 782), there were several in Italy in this respect like him. But with the Longobardic kingdom this branch of knowledge seems to have died out. With the first Renaissance—that under Charles the Great—Greek had a part, until it disappeared under Charles the Bald (843 ff). But in the far-off Ireland at the same time there were Grecians, men like Sedulius Scotus and John Scotus. Many writers caught at least at an appearance of Greek culture, making a show of Greek expressions in book-titles. Diplomatic and social intercourse with Byzantium led to a touch of spirits, and there were always some Greeks who were wandering to the West. So it is not accidental when Wittikind, a monk of Corvey (about 967), relates that King Conrad could read a little in Greek, and when Hermann Contractus (died 1054), for whom Duffield strongly argues as the author of the hymn commonly at-

tributed to King Robert of France, "Veni, Sancte Spiritus," is famed as having known Greek.

The Crusades, of course, brought a good deal of trade intercourse, but not much literary. The great mediæval thinkers seemed to feel no need of enlarging their knowledge on this side, an interesting commentary on the "Ages of Faith." The first who ever complained of an ignorance of Greek injuring Latin studies was Richard de Bury, but he was a contemporary of Petrarch. He provided both Greek and Hebrew for his pupils, though his mind was on the Church writers, not the classics. He said that one could not understand the old Church writers without knowing Greek.

It is an interesting fact that in Sicily and Calabria, where were old Greek colonies, the Greek language kept up all through the Middle Ages,—even the Latin died as a living popular language in the tenth century. A Sicilian, Bartolomeo of Messina, translated Aristotle's "Ethics" into Latin. In the Basilian cloisters, which were founded as refugee sanctuaries for the Greeks, and always stood in close connection with Constantinople, Greek studies were followed with more or less interest; but these cloisters were too isolated to have any influence on the West. Speaking of translations—one of the best indexes of culture—these played little part. What was known of Aristotle came from Latin translations from the

Arabic. Of Plato's "Dialogues" they only knew "Timæus" in the imperfect rendering of Chalcidius. How high stood Plato with the Church Fathers! But he had vanished. As Voigt says, "The whole secular literature of the Greeks was for the Latins buried and forgotten." In the middle of the fourteenth century there was indeed an Italian Minorite, Angelo de Cingulo, "who had received from God the Greek language," and who used his knowledge in translations. But it was not the Greek classics, but a work of Chrysostom, one of the so-called John Klimakos, Abbot of Sinai, and a dialogue of St. Macarius, to which he turned his attention.

It is interesting that it is in this very Calabria (Italy's heel), where the old Greek tongue was still living, that we have the men who gave the stimulus to Petrarch. Barlamo was one of them. Out of Calabria he wandered to the Orient, became abbot in Constantinople in 1331, got into controversy with the monks of Athens over the celebrated question whether the light of Tabor was a divine light or only divinely created, joined the Greek Church, came back West, joined the Latin again, wrote many books in moral philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, and music, met Petrarch at Avignon, and spent his last days in his bishopric at Geran in his native peninsula. Leonzio Pilato was another Calabrian who helped Greek study in the West. He was not nearly so learned a man as

Barlamo, but when everybody was ignorant, half-knowledge served very well. He taught Greek in Florence; a fact not significant in itself, but significant in the men whom he taught—Boccaccio and Petrarch. The former once asked him the derivation of the word Achilles: α-χιλός, said Pilato, that is, one who has grown up without food. At any rate he helped Petrarch feel the glory of the "Iliad." But it offended Petrarch, says Voigt, that Pilato showed a hard head for learning Latin and took no interest in its literature, and that at the best the jokes of Terence could only draw out a coarse laugh. "This lion, Leonizo Pilato," Petrarch said, "is only a great ox." It was probably Pilato who once heard mass with Petrarch, and said in disgust, "I can not stand the antics of the Latins." But Pilato supported Boccaccio's literary work from a distance in order to get some credit for himself. He patched up a word-for-word, verse-for-verse translation of the "Iliad" meant for scholars, like the work of Livius Andronicus. But he did not often understand Homer and was not at all skilled in Latin, so it was just as well that his translations found but small circulation. But the zeal of friends to thus plant Homer in Italy is more significant to us than the deed of the translator.

Petrarch is a father to Erasmus. He is the first modern man. Dante died in 1321 when

Petrarch was seventeen, but an age seems to be between them. Dante was immersed in mediævalism; he is the incarnation of its noblest theology and ethics. But with Petrarch the I within and world without came to their rights. It has been said that he was perhaps the first man who ever climbed a mountain out of love of nature, making the ascent of Mount Ventoux in France in 1335, a "milestone in intellectual history." In his youth he was enamored with the classics. He spent so much time in their study that once his father became enraged and threw his books into the fire, and it was only when he saw his son standing there frozen with grief, looking like one dazed at his burning treasures, that the father took pity and snatched a Virgil and a Cicero from the flames. No wonder he cherished them ever after. It has been claimed also that Petrarch was the first man to feel the enthusiasm for the form of Latin literature, for its literary charms. Like Erasmus, he studied that literature so earnestly that he could compose in a Latin so beautiful that he awoke unbounded admiration in his contemporaries. His Latin works had an immense vogue. But, unlike Erasmus, he wrote in his mother tongue, and, strange to say, it is these passionate outpourings, of which Petrarch thought so ill that he was almost tempted to destroy them, which have given him his immortality; while his Latin works, on which

he prided himself and over which his generation went wild, interest only scholars. In his "Canzoniere," inspired by his passion for Laura; in those passages suggested by the same subject in his "I Trionfi;" in his "Italia Mia," in which he scourges Italian dissensions in the words repeated by Machiavelli in his "Prince," which were on the lips of the patriots in the Italian struggle for freedom from Austria in 1848 ff.; in the song "Spirto Gentil," addressed to Cola di Rienzi, whose tragic attempt to bring back the old republican forms to Rome was greeted with high heart by Petrarch; and in his Crusade song, "O Aspettata;"—in these the poet has sung himself into immortality.

Perhaps only two other literary men were ever as popular as Petrarch—Erasmus and Voltaire. Kings and princes and popes tried to do him honor. "Princes have lived with me, not I with princes," he said. Venice gave him a palace on his promise to bequeath to her his library. Arezzo held the house in which he was born as a sanctuary, as the Germans do the quaint old house in Bonn on Rheingasse, in which Beethoven saw the light. Like Erasmus, he traveled everywhere searching for manuscripts. He found at Liége two new orations of Cicero, at Verona a collection of that great writer's letters, and at Florence an unknown "Institute" of Quintilian. His example as a manuscript-hunter bore rich fruit in the same field in

the following century. He has been well called the "earliest of the great humanists of the Renaissance and the founder of modern classical culture."

Two Greeks deserve mention here for their influence on the West. Georgios Gemistos—surnamed Plethon, because he took Plato as his ideal—was educated at the court of the Sultan Murad I in Adrianople, and in Brescia especially by Elias, a free-thinking Jew. This gave him his pagan tendency. At Sparta he lived as a teacher, writer, and statesman. He took part in the Union Council at Florence (1439) as a member of the imperial court, and represented the orthodox Eastern doctrine over against the Roman, but only on political grounds. Here he formed friendly connection with the philosophical representatives of the Italian Renaissance, and helped to give a pagan bent to that movement.

Gemistos Plethon was looked upon by the real theologians of the East as hardly more than a pagan, and rightly. He was a religious syncretistic philosopher, influenced particularly by Neoplatonism, and had nothing in common with Christianity. In the conflict then raging between Platonism and Aristotelianism he stood squarely for the former. On his motion, Cosmos de' Medici conceived the plan of the Platonic Academy at Florence. Gemistos had such applause in Florence that he soon imagined that mankind would take up with his new Platonic religion. He boldly intended to found

a new world-view which should overturn the old relations on the religious, moral, and political territory. As Philip Meyer says: "The circumstances of the time and his own life-history led this man, who was almost a genius, to these surprising reform ideas. The weakness of his own Church and the rape of the Western Church by the Renaissance made him believe that the night of Christendom was broken, and the unbearable political and social condition of his Fatherland demanded radical help. As a Hellene and as a witness for Hellenism in the West he knew no other remedy for the times than a return to classical heathenism, which, with his idealism, he represented as Platonic or better, Neoplatonic. He wanted to lead man to blessedness. For that purpose he needs a knowledge of The All; for man can only become known in union with The All. On this intellectual foundation he seeks a leader to truth. Who or what is this leader? The searching understanding and the wise men of the past—particularly Plato and the Neoplatonists. There is the highest God, who may be called Zeus. He is the absolute being and the absolute good. From him go forth gods of a lower order, the world of ideas,—ideas form the transcendental gods. Man takes part both in ideas and in matter. The human soul is eternal, preexistent, and immortal. It fulfills its course in transformation through different human bodies. Man comes to blessedness through virtue, and the

highest virtue is thinking and viewing the Deity. Thereby we become similar to the Deity. In regard to the State, monarchy is the best form of government, for the State should be a pattern of the heavenly world, where Jesus rules supreme. In the State, there are three classes—the princes and officers of the State, handworkers and merchants, and the helots or slaves. The priests do not belong to the first class. Their duties are to hold worship on certain days, and this worship consists of prayers, singing of hymns, and symbolic acts, all of which should be the expression of the Plethonic philosophy." So far as such thinking influenced Italy, is it any wonder that the Renaissance was so largely pagan?

Bessarion came also in the wake of the Emperor John VII Palæologus in his ecclesiastical expedition to the West to buy support against the advancing Turks by a union of the Eastern Church with Rome. He, too, was present at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, and ably supported union proposals. In fact, he went so far in the direction of Rome as to become a traitor to his own Church, for which he was rewarded with the cardinal's hat, 1439. He remained in Italy, and gathered around him in Rome a circle of scholars, Italian and Greek, so that his palace in Rome was compared with the old Academy. He helped liberally the publication of the classics, encouraged Greek studies, favored the Bologna school and

university, and stood so highly in the Church that it was only by the wiles of the Bishop of Avignon that the Borgian Calixtus III was preferred before him as pope in 1455. In 1463 he was made patrician in Venice, to which city he donated his books under such liberal conditions that his gift might be considered the first public library of Europe. Paul III (after 1464) heckled him on account of his "heathen" science, and because he had spoken against the shameful lengths to which canonization went, and threw out doubts concerning tradition that had to do with the so-called Saints. Like his teacher, Gemistos, he was the ally of Plato in the literary strife of the times, and carried on his part of it with dignity and honor.

A Church so external and artificial in its thought and forms as the Roman, which had itself inherited a great deal from paganism, in these days of its spiritual degeneration but material flowering out, naturally offered a hospitable home for the heathen elements which the classic revival brought with it. The celebrated utterance ascribed to Leo X, "How profitable the fable of Christ has been to us and ours is sufficiently known to all centuries," though not authentic, characterizes too well the spirit of the Renaissance papal court. Leo's secretary, Cardinal Bembo, mythologized Christianity in classical Latinity. Christ he called "Minerva sprung from the head of Jove;" the Holy Spirit, the "breath of the celestial zephyr;" to do penance was to "placate

the gods, the beings above, and the departed shades." When Plethon died, Bessarion consoled his sons with the thought that the departed had been exalted to the purer heavenly spheres, and had joined the Bacchus dances with the Olympian gods. Platonism was exalted above Christianity in the gardens of the Medici. It was the aim of Marsilio Ficino to unite the Platonic with the Christian culture. Plato was the Attic Moses, Socrates confirmed Christian doctrine.

With the Platonic there came also the new Peripatetic school, whose representative, Pomponazzo (died 1526), openly declared that from the standpoint of philosophy the immortality of the soul was more than doubtful. The Florentine statesman and historian, Machiavelli, taught the princes of Italy in his "Del Principe" (about 1513, published 1532), in glaring opposition to Dante's idealistic "Monarchia," a practical politics, fully emancipated from Christian morality and from every other worthy of the name, and as a pattern of an energetic and calculating prince could excite the wonder of the monster Cæsar Borgia. Moral frivolity went hand in hand with religious. Obscene poems and pictures circulated among the Humanists. Poggio's salacious jokes and Beccadelli's smutty epigrams captured the educated world as much by their lascivious content as by their classical Latin. From Laurentius Valla's Dialogue concerning "Pleasure and the True

Good," a defense of Christian morality over against Epicurean and Stoic, there was caught up the word that the Greek Hetæræ were more useful to the world than Christian nuns. The brilliant poet, Aretino, in his "Ragionamenti," lasciviously illustrated by Giulio Romano, as well as in other poetic and prose writings, prostituted his pen to an unblushing obscenity. Italy called him the "divine Aretino," and not only Charles V and Frances I honored him with salaries and gifts, but popes like Leo X and Clement VII, and even Paul III, showed him favor and honor.

Ruskin once said that the whole spirit of the Renaissance was summed up in Browning's poem, "The Bishop Orders His Tomb at St. Praxed's Church, Rome 15—," and it is, in its love of beauty and of classical form and literary purity, its sensuousness, and its infidelity to the moral and the spiritual.

It was inevitable that, with this revival of learning, the many forgeries, inventions, and other falsehoods which had been the stock in trade of the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages, and on which her pretensions were largely built, should be investigated and found out. Laurentius Valla, whom we shall meet later with Erasmus, showed the many faults of the Vulgate, or official Catholic version of the Scriptures, and corrected it in his "Annotationes in Novum Testamentum." He proved the alleged donation of Constantine to be

a pure invention, and made this discovery the text for sharpest invectives against papal love of power. He also denied the genuineness of Christ's correspondence with Abgar, of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, and doubted the apostolic origin of the Apostles' Creed. The Inquisition nabbed him for this, but Pope Nicholas I set him free. Unlike many, Valla had a true reverence for Christianity.

Nobler still, perhaps, than Valla among the scholars of the Renaissance was that wonder of his age, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, the "Phœnix" of his time, celebrated by his contemporaries as a miracle of learning and culture, who seemed to unite in himself all the finer aims of the past and present. When he was twenty-four (1487) he put forth in Rome nine hundred theses in all branches of science. The public disputation these called for never came to anything, for many of them were complained of as being heretical. The unity of all knowledge, the unanimity of all systems and philosophical teachings, their harmony with themselves and with Revelation on the ground of the Cabbala, was his fundamental thought. He brought this out in his "Heptalus," in which, by means of a sevenfold sense of Scripture, he develops all the wisdom of the world out of the first chapter of Genesis! In the last years of his brief life (died 1494, aged 31, when Erasmus was 27) he laid by the world and its glory, and devoted him-

self solely to the study of the Scriptures, intending to go through Europe preaching Christ. But other work in another world God had for him.

In Germany the Renaissance—here generally called Humanism—took a more Christian turn, corresponding to the deeper Teutonic semi-Protestant spirit. I have already elsewhere given a chapter to this side of the movement, and to that the reader is referred. Here is where the Renaissance meets us in Erasmus, who united all the culture of the Italian with some genuine traits of Northern piety.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY DAYS AND EDUCATION.

One of the most interesting passages in religious biography is the sad paragraph in the life of James Hamilton, the able and devoted pastor, from 1841 to his death in 1867, of the Regent Square Presbyterian Church, London, in which he dismissed forever his cherished project of writing a life of Erasmus. In 1860 he bought his complete works in eleven folios and began to read it through. "I forget whether I told you that I had been guilty of the great extravagance of buying Erasmus (£7). But he is capital reading, and cut and came again." In June, 1864, he resolves to write his life, "14th, Four hours Erasmus." August 20, 1864: "Most of the week I spent in reading the Latin letters of Erasmus. They are very amusing. One I read to-day describes a lively tourist on board a vessel on the Rhine, attended by a monkey, with a musket slung to his side and an itinerary [Murray's Guide, adds the good doctor, who will have his little joke] in his hand, in which he was constantly jotting down the names of the places as they passed—all so like travelers nowadays, all except the monkey."

March 10, 1865: "The last few weeks betwixt writing papers for *MacMillan's Magazine* on Erasmus, and a set of lectures on Hymnology, my thoughts have been for the most part inside the foolscap." With the loving passion of a scholar, Hamilton cherished this project and worked at it in all his spare moments. He had a commonplace book filled with all kinds of Erasmiana. But alas! how could the busy pastor of a city Church accomplish so formidable a task! On the 17th of May, 1865, he finally puts away from him this literary ambition.

"For a good many years I have cherished a hope of doing something towards the 'Life and Times of Erasmus.' The subject is very attractive, and with translations of some of his livelier letters and the more amusing passages in his colloquies, I fancy it might have been made entertaining. At all events, I should have liked to point out his special position and service. He not only did more than any other man towards the revival of letters, but he has left both religion and philosophy under endless obligations as the restorer of good sense. The 'sound mind,' the love of the practical, the true, and the useful, was his distinguishing characteristic, and it was this, as much as the love of the beautiful, which carried him with such ardor into the study of classical antiquity. His first great book was the 'Adages,' an effort to bring together the sagacity and experimental wisdom of all ages;

and his first theological treatise, the 'Enchiridion,' is an admirable attempt to exhibit and enforce practical Christianity, distinct from trivial observances and superstitious adhesions. The same good sense runs through his 'Paraphrase,' and, blended with exquisite humor, gives enduring value to his letters and more sprightly effusions.

"For this very cause, some do not like him. They call him a rationalist, and the father of them. But if they mean that he was an unbeliever, they are utterly wrong. He lacked moral courage, and his nature was not very emotional; but within the limits of his pretty large and comprehensive creed, he seems to have had as few doubts as other men. The greater part of popery he tacitly let go, but this only enabled him to retain with more unquestioning confidence the common Christianity. . . . After giving to the work the spare hours and the autumn holiday of the last two or three years, I am constrained to abandon the task. This last winter had no leisure, and in the congregation a childish feud about the hymn-book was so conducted as to rob me of rest by night and peace by day; and, perhaps as a consequence of this, I find my elasticity a good deal impaired. So this day, with a certain touch of tenderness, I restored the eleven tall folios to the shelf, and tied up my memoranda, and took leave of a project which has sometimes cheered the hours of exhaustion, and the mere thought of which has always been enough

to overcome my natural indolence. It is well; if a favorite play, it was also a great temptation. It was a chance, the only one I ever had, of attaining a small measure of literary distinction; and where there is so much 'pride and haughtiness of heart,' it is better to be unknown. Like the congregation of the Gascon preacher who had forgotten his discourse, the world will never know what a treat it has lost; and not having this absorbent for spare hours, it is possible that to wife and children and people there may be a gain in the abandonment of the *magnum opus.*"

The task the Presbyterian minister laid aside in bitter sorrow was to be taken up by a Unitarian layman, Robert B. Drummond, with splendid results, published eight years later, who had, without knowing it, as a fellow-worker a Lincolnshire parson, Arthur R. Pennington, whose work was given to the printer about the time that Drummond's came from the press. Since that, much has been done on Erasmus in various languages. It is to be hoped that in paradise Hamilton knows that, in the labors of others more amply endowed with time and opportunity, his noble ambition has been realized.

I do not know that any one has described the age in which Erasmus came on the scene better than Nisard in the vivid and pregnant words with which he opens his fourth chapter: "Picture to yourself this Europe of the end of the fifteenth

century and the first years of the sixteenth, plowed up by war, decimated by the plague; where all the nationalities of middle Europe moved and sought their seat under the apparent unity of the universal monarchy of Spain; where one sees with the same glance at religious quarrels and battles an unheard-of mêlée of men and things; a religion newly arising in violent struggle with the established religion; the ignorance of Occidental Europe striving against the light of day; antiquity coming out of its tomb; the dead languages living again; the grand literary tradition restoring the sense of the things of the Spirit to intelligences perverted by the refinements of religious dialectics; noise everywhere, silence nowhere; men living as pilgrims, choosing their country here and there, the travelers' staff in their hands; a literary and Christain republic of all high spirits reunited in the Latin language—the language which still expressed all the great matters of the Europe of that epoch; a frightful barbarism by the side of a precocious elegance of manners; a vast conflict military, religious, philosophical, monastic; in fine—for I hasten to quit the pretension of summarizing an epoch which only God knows—no place tranquil, no solitude in Europe where a man could collect himself and live his own life." What an irony of history that into such a tumultuous age there should be thrown a man (still to quote Nisard), "weak, languid, loving repose, and yet chained to activity; full of sense,

and therefore of doubt; gentle, kind, hating quarrels, detesting wars as the mothers in Horace; a little body, as he always called it, which lodged a soul always ready to slip away; who only had the strength of a glass; who shivered at a slight breath; who had vapors like a woman, and who could not cease a day to watch himself without placing himself in peril of death." But there is picturesqueness at the expense of sober truth here: Erasmus was not quite as weak as all that. But Nisard learned his exaggeration from Erasmus himself, who said he had a constitution more brittle than glass.

Erasmus was born in Rotterdam, October 27, 1467, if we may believe the inscription on the monument in his native city, 1466, if we may trust the researches of Richter. The chief thing is, that he was born—the year is not important; but if any one wants to know the preponderating evidence he can be assured that 1466 has by far the greater weight. His father was Gerard, an artist, and later a priest; the mother, a talented daughter of a physician at Zevenberge. The name of our subject was not Gerhard—Latinized Desiderius, Grecized Erasmus, according to an old fable followed by many biographers—but it was Erasmus Roger. Erasmus was born out of regular wedlock, though the representations of Charles Reade in his fine novel, "The Cloister and the Hearth" (1861), that a marriage ceremony had been gone partially through with when it was wrongfully interrupted,

has this much to be said for it, that Erasmus, in the brief sketch of his life communicated to Goclen, tells us that, "Some say that words of betrothal had passed between them." But we have sadly to dismiss as unfounded another statement of the novelist that the father and mother of Erasmus later came together in happy household life. Like Reade himself and Erasmus, the father (having taken priest's orders) lived a celibate, and both he and the mother died at about the age of forty.

We know nothing of Erasmus's life at Rotterdam. At nine he was sent to school at Deventer, belonging to the Church of St. Lebuin, in which the teachers were mainly Brethren of the Common Life. Hegius was rector, and he brought the school to a pitch of prosperity shown by the statement that in his time there were 2,200 pupils. It is an interesting fact that this school has had a more or less continuous history from that day to this. The present Gymnasium is its representative. Erasmus says of the work there: "The school was still barbarous [i. e., the new learning had not been introduced]. *Pater meus* was said over, and the boys had to say their tenses [oral exercises in Latin, repeated after the teacher]. *Ebrardus* and *Johannes de Garlandia* were read aloud [Ebrard was a German, the author of a Latin grammar or manual; Garland an English poet of the thirteenth century, one of whose works was often used as a textbook]. But Alexander Hegius and Zinthius were

beginning to introduce some better literature; and at last from his elder playmates who were in Zinthius's class, he first got scent of the better learning. Afterwards he sometimes had instructions from Hegius, but only on festivals when he gave a lesson at all. In this school he reached the third class." (In old German schools there were eight classes or grades, the highest being called the first.) Then the plague came and carried off his mother, and soon after ravaged the whole school, and Erasmus returned to his home.

On the death of his father, Erasmus was put in the care of three guardians, who intended to have him trained as a priest, so that they could appropriate his inheritance. He was really ready for the university, but they feared its generous culture would unfit him for the priesthood, and so they sent him to the house of the Brethren of the Common Life at Bois-le-duc (Hertogenbusch). This noble society had degenerated since its founding by Gerhard Groot, about 1380. Erasmus calls their houses "seminaries of monasticism," and accuses their teachers of being a "destruction to good intellects." No doubt they taught according to the prevailing mode, but they did not destroy Erasmus's intellect, as he says himself that he came out after three years (driven out again by the plague) fluent in good authors.

Then the guardians tried to induce him to enter a monastery, tried by every means that flattery,

cajolery, threats, persuasion of friends, beautiful descriptions of monastic life, etc., could offer. Finally they succeeded. The sickly boy, contrary to his better judgment, entered the Augustinian monastery at Stein, near Gouda. "He was tenderly treated for a time," says Erasmus in the little sketch of his life written for Goclen, "until he should put on the sacred robe. Meanwhile, young as he was, he felt the absence of real piety there. And yet the whole flock were led by his influence to study. Before profession [taking the vows] he was preparing to go away, but was detained partly by human shame, partly by threats, and partly by necessity." This was in 1486.

CHAPTER III.

IN PARIS.

ERASMUS was thoroughly unfit for a monastic life. He was a roving bird; he hated restraint and restrictions enforced from without; he felt a call to the life of a student, and wanted to be free to consult or collect manuscripts wherever he could find them, and the grosser faults of the monks he abominated. Besides, he was of fragile health, had to be very careful in eating, was made sick by fish, and when once he arose for the night prayers and chants he found it impossible to go to sleep again. Of Erasmus's opinion of monasticism and the light he throws upon it I shall not speak now, hoping to devote a chapter to that interesting theme. In spite of the irksomeness of the life at Stein, Erasmus was not altogether unhappy. He studied hard, and found congenial companions in two of his fellow-monks, who used to bend over their Latin classics by the hour. He came out with a thorough mastery of Latin style. And it was this which offered him a happy escape from the monastery. The Bishop of Cambrai had an ambition for the highest honor in Catholicism under the popedom, the cardinalate,

and was going to Rome on this unapostolic errand. He wanted some one who would help him out with his Latin, and fortunately he struck upon Erasmus. The Bishop of Utrecht, in whose diocese Stein was situated, the general of the order, and the prior of the convent, all gave their permission, which shows that they were not so narrow-minded, after all. But the bishop had to give up his journey and the honors of the red hat. He may have found the expense too great, as these dignities come high in the Roman Church. About this time, either before or after leaving Stein, he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Utrecht, April 25, 1492.

Erasmus, though an accomplished Latinist, had no university education, and this he longed for. Free now from the shackles of the monastery, he went to Paris, assisted by the bishop, and entered the College of Montaigu, apparently in the faculty of theology. At Paris was the most renowned university in Europe. There had been Greek teachers there since 1458, though the present occupant of the chair "could not teach," says Erasmus, "and would not if he could." Three foreigners had lately settled there, and had been allowed to teach, with the restriction that they should lecture only one hour in the evening. The scholastics made that condition, says one authority. Still, if these foreigners were no better than Faustus Andrelinus, the best known of them, the less often they lectured the better, for he was an ignoramus.

The old hard-and-dry scholastic theology and philosophy reigned supreme; the very walls had it, wrote Erasmus thirty years after. He would not call his teachers theologians, but theologasters; and, according to his description of them, they were a sorry set, with their "rotten brains, barbarous tongues, stupid intellects, unfruitful learning, coarsest manners, spiteful tongues, and blackest hearts."

On account of his poverty, Erasmus entered Montaigu, where the president had provided some bursarships for indigent scholars. But this rector carried out his will in a stern fashion in order to keep out all indolent rich men. The students had to observe the fasts and services of the Church, and all failures were followed by punishment. They had to sweep and do all kinds of servile work. The fare was atrocious. Meat was unknown, eggs rotten, water bad, wine wretched, and bread scanty. Bed-room accommodation was even worse. The conditions were so insanitary that infection with disease was almost inevitable. According to Erasmus's account—I hope it was exaggerated—a single year's experience there often produced blindness, madness, or leprosy. "I know many," he says years afterward, "who can not shake off the delicacy of health there contracted." His contemporary, Rabelais, who never was a student there, either from Erasmus or others gathered a similar impression of the place. "My lord, think not that

I have placed him in a lousy college they call Montaigu. I would rather have put him among the beggars of St. Innocents, for the enormous cruelty and villainy I have known there. For the galley slaves among the Moors and Tartars or the murderers in the criminal prison—yea, surely the dogs in your house—are much better treated than those poor wretches in that college; and if I were king of Paris, the devil take me if I would not set it on fire, and burn both regents and principal who suffer such inhumanity to be practiced before their eyes."

After about a year's stay in such a hell (1491 ff.) Erasmus was compelled by ill-health to seek the sunshine of the Bishop of Cambrai's villa at Bergen. I wonder did the memories of Montaigu lend zest to his subsequent attacks on the divinity he heard there? Early in 1496 he is in Paris again, living in a modest but decent chamber, earning something by teaching rhetoric (i. e., Latin speech and composition), and studying Greek.

From a letter to one of his pupils we get a glimpse of his own life, or at least that of a model student. "Avoid nightly lucubrations and studies at unseasonable times. They exhaust the mind and seriously affect the health. The dawn, beloved of the Muses, is the fit time for study. After dinner either pray or walk, or take part in cheerful conversation. Take as much food as is required, not for pleasure, but for health. Before supper take a short walk, and after supper do the same. Be-

fore going to bed read something exquisite and worth remembering, of which you will be thinking when overcome by sleep, and of which you will ask yourself again when you wake. Let this maxim of Pliny rest always on your mind: 'All your time is lost which you do not impart to study.' Remember that nothing is more fugitive than youth, which, when once it has flown, never returns." Wise advice, as good to-day as ever.

In a letter to the same pupil he gives an incident which throws light on the sly humor of Erasmus and on the social amenities of the time. "We have been engaged, sitting at the play, and very entertaining it was. A tragedy, you will ask, or a comedy? Whichever you please; only no masks were worn by the players; the piece was one act; the plot neither Roman nor Greek, but quite on a low level, without either music or dancing. The ground formed the stage, and my parlor the gallery. The denouement was exciting and the last scene most animated.

"What the devil, you will say, is this play you are inventing? Nay, I am relating a fact. The spectacle we saw to-day was that of our landlady engaged in a desperate fight with the maid. The trumpet had sounded long before the encounter, as violent abuse was hurled from both quarters. On this occasion the forces parted on equal terms, neither party gaining a triumph. It took place in the garden while we looked on in silence from the

parlor, not without laughter. But hear the catastrophe. After the fight the girl came up to my chamber, to make the beds. In talking to her I praised her courage in having been a match for her mistress in noise and abuse, and said I wished she had been as brave with her hands as with her tongue. For the mistress, a stout termagant that might have passed for an athlete, kept pommeling the head of the girl, who was shorter than herself, with her fists. 'Have you then no nails,' I said, 'that you put up with such blows for nothing?' She answered with a grin that she did not want will, but strength. 'Do you fancy,' said I, 'that the issue of battles depends only on strength? The plan of attack is always most important.' Then she asked what advice I had to give her. 'When she attacks you again,' said I, 'do you at once pull off her cap.' For these housewives of Paris are marvelously fond of wearing a black cap of a peculiar fashion. 'When you have pulled that off, you can then fly at her hair.' All this was said by me in a jest, and I supposed it had been taken in the same sense. But just before supper-time, a stranger comes running up breathless. This was a pursuivant of King Charles, commonly called *Gentil Garçon*. 'Come here,' said he, 'my masters, and you will see a bloody spectacle!' We ran to the spot, and found the landlady and maid struggling on the ground; and it was with difficulty that we parted them. How bloody the battle had been was

shown by the result. Strewn on the floor lay on one side the cap, on the other the girl's kerchief, and the ground was covered with tufts of hair; so cruel had been the slaughter. As we sat at supper, the landlady related to us with much indignation how stoutly the girl had borne herself. 'When I was preparing,' said she, 'to chastise her' (that is, to pommel her with fisticuffs), 'she at once pulled the cap off my head.' I recognized that my song had not been sung to deaf ears. 'As soon as that was off, the hussy brandished it in my eyes.' That was no part of my counsel. 'Then,' said she, 'she tore out as much of my hair as you see here.' She took heaven and earth to witness, she had never met with a girl so small and so vicious. We did our best to palliate human events and the doubtful fortune of war, and to treat of peace for the future. Meantime I congratulated myself that the mistress had no suspicion of the affair having been conducted by my advice, as I should otherwise have found for myself that she had a tongue in her head."

It would appear that even Erasmus did not escape altogether the temptations which lurked in the free-and-easy life of Paris students, and it was perhaps some lapse here which occasioned a quarrel with a friend of the Englishmen Mountjoy and Grey, with whom he was boarding and whom he was teaching. We can not say who was in the right, though Erasmus scholars have not been

inclined to let their hero go scot-free. Anyhow, Erasmus poured out the vials of his wrath on his antagonist in vigorous wise. Nichols suggests that his clerical state prevented him from crossing swords, but this professed rhetorician "had a more deadly weapon at his command to revenge his real or imaginary wrongs, and to use this weapon in the most ruthless way afforded some consolation to his wounded pride."

Erasmus attended the Scotist lectures in Paris (by theologians representing the school of Duns Scotus), and he compares them to the fabled Epimenides, who slept forty-seven years. "I think Epimenides was uncommonly fortunate in coming to himself even as late as he did. Most divines of our time never wake at all; and when they sleep on mandragora they think themselves most awake. . . . What do you think Epimenides dreamed of all those years? What else but the subtlest of subtleties of which the Scotists now make boast. I am ready to swear that Epimenides came to life again in Scotus. What if you saw Erasmus sit gaping among those blessed Scotists, while Gryllard is lecturing from his lofty chair? If you observed his contracted brow, his staring eyes, his anxious face, you could say he was another man. They assert that the mysteries of this science can not be comprehended by one who has any commerce at all with the Muses or with the Graces. If you have touched good letters, you must unlearn what you have learnt."

Erasmus remained at Paris until 1499, with visits to the Low Countries for his physical and financial welfare. Besides what little help the Bishop of Cambrai gave him, he received something from private tutoring; but with his scholarly ambitions it was evident that he must have larger support. There were journeys to make, libraries to visit, manuscripts to copy, servants to hire—Erasmus needed good fare and good attendance—and all this cost money. And this brings Erasmus in a new light—as a mendicant from patrons, as a flatterer of the rich for his own help. This is not a dignified posture for a great scholar, and Erasmus sometimes pressed his suit with unblushing earnestness. But we must not judge Erasmus by the standard and method of our own age, nor be too hard on him for urging his case with reckless disregard of personal dignity and of the feelings of friends whom he begged to intercede for him. He felt himself called to do a work for scholarship for the world; to that he was willing to labor early and late; but he could not do it unless he had the means. Therefore he solicited help here and there, badgered his friend Batt to get all he could out of the Lady of Veer, and himself laid on the flatteries to the great. But this side of his life, his correspondence with Batt, his association with wealthy patrons in the Low Countries, may be passed over with this mention of it.

CHAPTER IV.

IN ENGLAND.

It was a lucky day for Erasmus when he fell in with his young English friends in Paris, as that made possible a visit across the Channel. And here we may pause to look at the portrait, which Holbein has made so familiar, of this quiet, indefatigable scholar of thirty-one. I can do no better than use the admirable sketch of Professor Jebb. "Erasmus was rather a small man," says Jebb, "slight, but well built; he had, as became a Teuton, blue eyes, yellowish or light-brown hair, and a fair complexion. The face is a remarkable one. It has two chief characteristics,—quiet, watchful sagacity, and humor, half playful, half sarcastic. The eyes are calm, critical, steadily observant, with a half-latent twinkle in them; the nose is straight, rather long, and pointed; the rippling curves of the large mouth indicate a certain vivacity of temperament and tenacity of purpose; while the pose of the head suggests vigilant caution, almost timidity. As we continue to study the features, they speak more and more clearly of insight and refinement; of a worldly

yet very gentle shrewdness; of cheerful self-mastery and of a mind which has its weapons ready at every instant. But there is no suggestion of enthusiasm, unless it be the literary enthusiasm of a student. It is difficult to imagine those cool eyes kindled by any glow of passion, or that genial serenity broken by a spiritual struggle. This man, we feel, would be an intellectual champion of truth and reason; his wit would be as the spear of Ithuriel, and his satire as the sword of Gideon; but he has not the face of a hero or martyr."

Erasmus students have been inclined to attribute great influence to this first English visit in the spiritual development of their hero. Stähelin thinks this visit helped to bring home to him how his Humanistic aims could be made serviceable to the renewal of the religious life of his time. The spirits of More and Colet gripped hold of him in a decisive way. They deepened and clarified his religious life, and stirred him to thoughts which made him in a sense a reformer. From Colet he learned three things: (1) That Christianity is consistent with the new culture; (2) that the Scriptures ought to take the place of the old barren scholasticism, and are to be understood, not as a text-book of dogma, but as practical wisdom; and (3) that this need not lead us to reject any of the dogmas and ordinances of the Church. There is no doubt that the English visit helped him in many ways, though we would err in placing its influence

too high. The latest Erasmus investigator, Nichols, seems to be right that he did not study Greek in Oxford, as often alleged. The old legend of Knight —repeated by Gibbon—that he studied Greek in Oxford and taught it in Cambridge is to be thrown out.

Erasmus was in raptures over England. In the first place, he found delightful companionships. As is well known, Europe was then one vast religious intellectual republic. All educated men spoke Latin, and Erasmus spoke it as one to the manner born. That old cosmopolitanism has now gone forever, thanks to the growth of modern languages and literature, of nationalities, and to the break-up of the old Latin Church. But in Erasmus's day it still existed, and it introduced him into a charming circle in England. "I can not express how delightful is this England of yours," he writes to his pupil Mountjoy. All his tedium had vanished. "England pleases me as no other land has yet pleased me; the climate I find most agreeable and healthy, and I have come upon such accurate and elegant scholarship, both Greek and Latin, that I have no care now to go to Italy, except for the sake of seeing the country." He says that when he listens to Colet, he seems to be hearing Plato himself. He marvels at Grocyn's learning and Linacre's judgment, and "has nature ever made a more gentle, a sweeter, or happier disposition than Thomas More?" He writes to the poet-laureate

of France, Faustus Andrelinus, to take wings to his feet, leave his gout behind, and come over to England. He praises highly the beauty of the English ladies and their hearty greetings with the kiss. "Wherever you go, you are received on all hands with kisses; when you take leave, you are dismissed with kisses. If you go back, your salutes are returned to you." Kisses everywhere. The same custom is mentioned by Chalcondyles (about 1470) of the English, and Gibbon has interpreted his words as an actual lending of wives and daughters, taking κύεσθαι from κύω rather than from κύσω, the late form of κυνέω. Nichols suggests this form may have been used in Chalcondyles's time. There is no doubt if Chalcondyles really meant κύω he was either mistaken or slandering, as we can readily gather from Erasmus's words.

Erasmus went to England in the summer of 1499, and left it early in 1500. He apparently spent most of his time in St. Mary's College, Oxford, a house of an Augustinian order, called by Colet Jesus House (now occupied by Frewin Hall), over which presided Prior Richard Charnock, who proved to be an intelligent and useful friend. Here, it is likely, he heard Colet deliver his celebrated lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, an academic event of epoch-making significance. These lectures helped to bury the old scholasticism and make the Bible, rather than the Sentences of the Lombard,

the topic of theology. They would abide in the receptive soul of Erasmus as the seed of a new life.

In the letters of this period Erasmus tells of discussions in Biblical questions with Colet; as, for instance, why Cain's sacrifice was not accepted. Colet held that it was due to his distrust and self-confidence, seen in his energetic working of the soil, not trusting that God would provide, and, unlike Abel, not taking what grew of itself and tending sheep. Another subject was the cause of our Lord's agony in the Garden; Colet thinking, with Jerome, that it was the result of Jesus' foreseeing the awful ruin the Jews were to bring upon themselves by sacrificing Him, and His compassionate recoil from their fate. Erasmus held that the explanation is due to Christ's dual nature. In His human nature, which Erasmus separated by a deep line from His Divine, he was overtaken by a terrific fear of death, which the extreme sensitiveness of His body and the keenness of all of His feelings rendered peculiarly affecting. Besides it was no ordinary death, but the bitter one of a sin-bearer.

What reverence Erasmus may have had for the schoolmen was shattered by Colet. He had already broken, as we have seen, with the Scotists. Thomas Aquinas was the next to go. Erasmus used to express admiration to Colet for Aquinas, especially for his "Aurea Catena," which he thought useful in increasing our knowledge of the Bible and of

the Fathers. Colet stood this praise for a time, and then burst out: "Why do you preach to me of a man like that, who must have had boundless arrogance, else he could not have been so rash or presumptuous as to define all things; so much of the spirit of the world, else he would not have contaminated the whole doctrine of Christ with his profane philosophy?" Erasmus then began to study Aquinas, with the result that he came substantially to Colet's view.

Colet wanted him to settle down in Oxford as a teacher. But Erasmus was too restless for that, too eager for new fields to conquer, too anxious to go to Italy and to study Greek, and we may be thankful he resisted the temptation. Besides, he felt himself incompetent. "With what confidence shall I teach that which I never learned? How am I to warm the coldness of others while I am shivering myself?" He would not, according to the Greek proverb, train himself as a potter by beginning on an amphora.

He left England in 1500. The custom-house at his port of departure relieved him of his money by that species of legal robbery with which all arbitrary high-tariff laws give us effective specimens. "I embarked at the port of Dover, but before I put to sea, all my money had already suffered shipwreck. A small sum it was, but great to me, as I had nothing left." By a law of 1478, re-enacted in 1489, it was unlawful to take out of the

country any money in gold or silver coined or uncoined, whether English or foreign, beyond the value of four angels, and all such money was to be confiscated. More told Erasmus that the law applied only to English coin, but he was soon disabused when he found himself in the clutches of the officers of the customs at Dover. The law of 1489 reminds us of the embargo on scholarship and art perpetrated by that mediæval anachronism, the Dingley tariff law of 1897.

CHAPTER V.

THE ADAGES.

ERASMUS now made his home mostly in Paris, in poor health, in straightened circumstances, but indefatigably studying Greek, and preparing an edition of proverbs from the Greek and Latin. He was supported mainly by Lord Mountjoy, and with what his kind friend Batt could get for him. "My Greek studies are almost too much for my courage, while I have not the means of purchasing books or the help of a teacher. And while I am in all this trouble I have scarcely the wherewithal to sustain life; so much is our learning worth to us!" "I am devoting all of my strength to the preparation of my 'Adages,' which I hope will be made public soon after Easter, a work of some length and requiring an infinity of pains. We have collected some eight hundred proverbs, part Greek and part Latin!" "I trust in a short time to count up more than three thousand. It will be, I venture to prophesy, a work both amusing and useful, and not hitherto attempted by any one!" For books he appeared to rely on Gaguin, said to have been librarian to the French king, and who had an ex-

cellent private library. His letters for the loan of books are extant. "I have occasion to hold a few days' colloquy with Macrobius, a pleasant fellow, as you know, and will be obliged if you will bid him step over to me out of your learned library!" "Most distinguished Sir," he writes to Gaguin again, "only look at the consummate impudence of your Erasmus. Gaguin never comes into his head but he wants something. I have need for a few days of Trapezontius on the 'Precepts of Rhetoric.' I do not ask whether you have the book, as I know that no good authors are missing from your shelves, but I beg your kindness to let me have the use of it! I should be glad to have Quintilian to compare with him. I will send them both back before long. Farewell, and love us!" This was the treatise on rhetoric by George of Trebizond, a learned Greek living in Italy in the fifteenth century.

The "Adages" appeared in Paris in the summer of 1500. It was not the first book of the kind, as Polydore Vergil's "Proverbium Libellus" was printed in Venice in 1498, second edition 1500. But Erasmus knew nothing of this book until his own was published. Erasmus's book was furnished with a commendatory letter by the poet Andrelinus, reprinted in Richter, and with a long dedication by Erasmus to Lord Mountjoy. He tells him that the book was dictated (not written) at a time when he was suffering from an intermittent fever,

and against the doctor's advice. He strolled through the gardens of different authors, "culling, as I went, the adages most remarkable for their antiquity and excellence!" In the true spirit of an author he says: "If any one shall point out my mistakes, if in kindness, he shall be thanked; if in malice, shall still be heard!" The book was published in quarto volumes of eight and a half sheets (144 pages not numbered), and contained 800 proverbs with 23 brief notes. Later editions came out in Paris (five in 1505-7, one revised) and Strasburg, but in the hospitable printing-office of Aldus in Venice he subjected it to enlargement, which transformed it from a hasty collection of a hurried invalid to a large and permanently valuable contribution to learning. Three thousand two hundred and sixty proverbs appeared in this Aldine edition of 1508, with copious notes, dissertations and digressions, in which he paid his compliments to the Church evils of the time. Another edition was brought out by Froben in Basel in 1513, and others in 1515 and 1523, in which the author added essays scoring the monks and kings of his day. "This work was the beginning of his world-wide fame," says Froude. "Light literature was not common in those days. Copies sold by the thousands, and helped to fill his empty purse again. Light, good-humored wit is sure of an audience, none the less for the crack of the lash, now heard for the first time, over the heads of

ecclesiastics and ecclesiasticism. It was mild with what was to follow, but the skins of the reverend hierarchy were tender, and quivered at the touch. The divines at Paris raged, those at Cologne affected contempt. But rage and sneer as they would, they had to feel that there was a new man among them with whom they would have to reckon." From all the best, from Erasmus's English friends especially, the "Adages" had an enthusiastic welcome. Warham, who was soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, was so delighted with it that he took his own copy with him wherever he went, and now perceived the real value of the author for the first time. He sent him money, he offered him a benefice if he would return, and was profuse in his praises and admiration. The book was worthy of Warham's praise. "It is a magazine of Minerva (logothecam Minervæ)," said Budæus; "one goes to it as to the book of the Sibyls!" As Nisard finely says: "It was a book decisive for the morning of modern literature. It was the first revelation of this double fact, that the human spirit is one, that the modern man is the same as the ancient man, that literature is nothing but the depot of the human reason!" "It is a work," says Amiel, "prodigious in its patience and knowledge, such as only a scholar of the Renaissance could produce."

We are here interested mainly with its religious judgments. As to the avarice of priests, he says that everything has money value. Baptism, con-

fession, saying mass,—for everything you put your hand in your pocket. They will not consecrate a stone or cup except for hire. Litigations, dispensations, indulgences, conferring priesthood, and other ecclesiastical offices,—nothing is done without money. Burial places are also sold,—the more money, the finer tomb. He speaks of bishops whose miters, sparkling with gems and all their gorgeous panoply, proclaim them more than men, while in reality they have the hearts of soldiers and traders. As to the monks whom we meet everywhere, whose rugged beards, pale faces, hoods, and sour looks might lead you to think of them as the holiest men, they have really hearts which are a sink of selfishness and greed. The true Christian is he who does not think of outward things mainly, but whose eye seeks inner qualities.

In his "Adages" he attacks the temporal power of the papacy. He scores all earthly dominion and rule and riches for prelates. What Peter trampled under foot we ought to despise. Erasmus goes into this matter with great length, and says that priests are not adapted by nature for rule, nor will the people submit to an evil government by them as quietly as they will to secular rulers. The true riches of a spiritual man are those of Peter: "In the name of Jesus, arise and walk." It must be remembered that in Erasmus's day the popes were temporal rulers, sometimes of the most warlike kind. Is it fitting that the vicars of Christ should

be a Julius, an Alexander, a Crœsus, a Xerxes, who were nothing else than robbers; and should they not rather take Christ as pattern? How can these temporally ruling prelates exemplify Christ's word of overcoming evil with good,—they who fill the world with war over the possession of some little town?

On the proverb, "To the slothful, every day is a holiday," he lets in some light on the religious conditions of the time. While of old, holidays were kept for the advancement of piety, now they are made the occasion of drinking, licentiousness, playing, quarreling, and assault, and the very days when men should keep from sin are the days when they act the worst. And although it is evident that while these days were first intended for piety, they are now excellently adopted to destroy it, yet the pope adds new holidays—God knows for what! The physician should suit the remedy to the disease, not increase the disease. I would not do away with holy days altogether, but the few which the ancient Fathers instituted I would restore to their original aim. To the true Christian every day is a holy day; to the bad—and they are the majority—every holiday is a common day.

He has an interesting remark on what the Church considers a heresy. The Church considers that a heresy which deviates in any way from the sentences or principles of the scholastic divines; but that is no heresy when any one cries up that

as an excellent part of human happiness of which Christ has taught that it ought to be despised. According to their view, that man is no heretic who brings in a new way of life which is entirely different from the commands of the Gospel and the institutions of the apostles.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MANUAL OF A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.

ERASMUS was now deep in the study of Greek. "I have by a lucky chance gotten some Greek works, which I am stealthily transcribing night and day. It may be asked why I am so pleased with the example of Cato the Censor as to learning Greek at my age [written in March, 1501]. I answer, reverend father, that if I had this mind when a boy, or rather if the times had been more favorable to me, I should have been the happiest man in the world!" Greek was absolutely necessary to him. "Latin erudition, however ample, is crippled and imperfect without Greek. We have in Latin small streams and turbid pools, while they have the clearest springs and rivers flowing with gold. I see it is the merest madness to touch with the little finger that principal part of theology which treats of divine mysteries without being furnished with the apparatus of Greek, when those who have translated the sacred books have in their scrupulous interpretation so rendered the Greek phrases that not even the primary meaning which

our theologians call literal can be perceived by those who are not Greek scholars."

He employed a teacher, but he said his chief virtue was his enormous appetite and his exorbitant charges. So Erasmus had to hammer at his Greek himself, which, as Emerton well says, is the only way one can obtain knowledge, especially linguistic. The remark of Amiel that "he had no help, neither lexicons nor grammars," is by no means true (Froude falls into the same mistake). Before the end of the fifteenth century eight Greek lexicons had appeared, and as many primers. "James has sent him a present of a Greek grammar," says Erasmus. "I have hunted eagerly for a Greek grammar to buy and send you," he says again, "but they are sold out, both Constantine's and Urban's." Teachers were to be had; but, as Lilly puts it, they were costly and bad, and, like Budæus, Erasmus became his own instructor. He worked with tremendous diligence, and Jebb thinks that, as a result, no one in Europe at that time (later Melanchthon was doubtless a finer scholar) except Budæus could have written Greek better. But it is "well to remember," says Lilly, "that for Erasmus language was a means, not an end. He was not a scholar of the type of Scaliger, of Casaubon, of Bentley, of Porson, of Heyne, of Orelli. He felt in his innermost being 'all the charm of all the Muses,' and, like Virgil, he might have called himself their priest. To vindi-

cate the claims, to diffuse the knowledge, to extend the influence—the civilizing, the humanizing, influence—of 'good letters,' was the aim of his life. And from the first he believed there were too great obstacles to this work,—the hostility of the monks, intolerant of the light shed by the new learning upon their ignorant superstition, and the bigotry of theologians, who, jealous for the decadent and moribund scholasticism with which they had been indoctrinated, denounced that learning as heretical."

With this noble purpose, Erasmus set himself to the study of the Greek and Latin writers, with a view to their publishing. "I have long and ardently wished to illustrate with a commentary the Epistles of Jerome, and in daring to conceive so great a design, which no one has hitherto attempted, my heart is inflamed and directed by some divine power. I am moved by the piety of that holy man, of all Christians beyond controversy the most learned and the most eloquent; whose writings, although they deserve to be read by the learned everywhere and by all, are read by few, admired by fewer still, and understood by scarcely any. Good heavens! shall the names of Scotus, Albertus, and writers still less polished be shouted in all the schools and that simpler champion, exponent, and light of our religion, who deserves to be the one person celebrated,—shall he be the only one of whom nothing is said?" This ambition thus early

expressed (1500) was carried out in 1516. Doubtless he was interested in Jerome on account of his scholarship and many-sided labors—some of his views must have repelled him. The first fruit, however, of his literary study was an edition of the "De Officiis" of Cicero, one of the best monuments of the ethical reflection of the Latins,—a book still to be read with profit. "In my late walks," says Erasmus in 1501, "which I used to take after meals on account of the delicacy of my health, we read over those three really golden books of Tully's 'Offices,' I can not say whether with more delight or profit. And whereas Pliny the Younger declares they ought never to be out of the reader's hands, we have reduced the size of the volume, so that it may be constantly carried about as a manual." This book was doubtless published in 1501, though we have no copy extant of that edition that we are sure of. An enlarged edition was published in Basel in 1520.

Paris was his headquarters, as already said, in those early years of the sixteenth century; but Paris was a filthy city in those days, and therefore frequently plague-stricken. At such times Erasmus would flee to more congenial climes,—Orleans, the Low Countries, etc. "The plague keeps us away from France. In Holland the climate agrees with me, but I have a distaste for those Epicurean meals. The men are a poor, uncultivated race; study is held in the most hearty contempt; learning meets with

no encouragement and abundance of envy,"—a poor word for his native land, which later redeemed herself with brilliant honor.

In the summer or autumn of 1501 his Christian Soldier's Dagger, "Enchiridion Militis Christiani," was written, and appeared in February, 1503. The circumstances he describes himself in his letter to Botzhem. "The 'Enchiridion' was begun by me nearly thirty [really twenty-two] years ago, when staying in the castle of Tournehem, to which we were driven by the plague which depopulated Paris. The work arose out of the following incident: A common friend of mine and Batt's was in the castle, whose wife was a lady of singular piety. The husband was no one's enemy as much as his own, a man of dissolute life, but in other respects an agreeable companion. He had no regard for any divines except me; and his wife, who was much concerned about her husband's salvation, applied to me through Batt to set down some notes in writing for the purpose of calling him to some sense of religion, without his perceiving that it was done at the instance of his wife. For even with her it was a word and a blow, in soldier fashion [a Continental custom still, especially in Catholic lands, as our Italian fellow-townsmen remind us]. I consented to the request, and put down some observations suitable to the occasion. These having met the approval even of learned persons, and especially of Johannes Vitrarius, a Franciscan friar

of great authority in these parts, I finished the book at leisure, after the plague then raging everywhere had routed me out of Paris and driven me to Louvain."

The "Enchiridion" is a book difficult to describe. I find it hard reading. It does not grip the soul nor uncover its deeps like the "Imitation of Christ," nor does it have the clarity and breadth of intellectual and spiritual appeal of Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying." Froude called it the "first of Erasmus's minor compositions,"—a judgment which made Lilly wonder whether he had ever read it. Feugère says of it that it is "sufficiently cold," and he is right. It is hard to think of Erasmus warming up to the task of writing a book of the Christian life; and if he was not kindled himself, how could he kindle others? Not that Erasmus was insincere in his Christianity—he was as earnest and devout as it was possible for a scholar of his temperament to be—but his chief interest did not lie in reclaiming fast men. Still, Erasmus did have definite views as to what Christianity was, as to where lay its chief emphasis, and he did have a scorn of low life and sensual aims; and so any book in which he set forth his views would not be without interest. Besides, he was a pioneer in rolling back that cloud of artificiality and externality, of work-righteousness, of monastic pseudo-virtues, which obscured the plain, simple paths of Christian service, and the Enchiridion,

with its reality and reasonableness, attained a success that it could not have now.

"I desire with all my heart," he says, "that the religion of the Gospel should be so pleasant to every one that they, being contented therewith, should not desire the religion of black monks and gray friars. I would that all Christian men should so live that these which now be called Religious only, should appear little religious, which thing is even now seen. In the old time, when the monastic life began, it was simply going aside into a secret place from the cruelness of idolators, later from the worldliness and sin of the Church. The bishops were corrupt with ambition and covetousness, and the common people fainted and waxed cold from that charity which was in the primitive Church. So St. Benedict and others sought the solitary life that they might use the pure and simple life of Christian men. But in time their riches and ceremonies increased, and their godliness and simplicity decreased. Now they are drowned in worldly matters, though at the same time they do account all other men, in comparison to themselves, no Christian men at all [for making substantially the same charge against the monks as to their estimate of their profession Denifle bitterly attacked Luther]. Why do we make so strait and narrow Christ's religion, which He would have so large? Is not every city as good as a monastery? Citizens are obedient to their rulers; they are not idle as

the monks; they give to the poor; and, as far as the vow of chastity is concerned, what is the difference between the Religious man unmarried and the chaste matrimony of the other? If men keep the vows they make in baptism, they shall not greatly lack in comparison to those who take the three vows of man's invention. As to the bad man in monastic life and in the world respectively, the latter is the better; and as to the good men in both, those are more religious who keep their religion and duty with less coercion. But in every kind of living let this be our common study that every man endeavor to attain unto the mark of Christ, which is set open to all men. But always in humility and distrust. There is no man further from true religion than he that thinketh himself to be very religious. Christ is supreme, and the authority of man must never be preferred to the authority of God. We must all hang of that head if we will be true Christian men."

It was one of the aims of the Roman Catholic priest, Janssen, in his celebrated "History of the German People Since the End of the Middle Ages," to show that the moral and religious condition of Germany in the eve of the Reformation was very favorable, though where his eminent co-religionist, Father Denifle, in his huge anti-Luther book, trenches on the same ground, he reaches the opposite conclusion. Erasmus is here on Denifle's side. "As touching the common sort of Christian men,"

quoting again the old English translation, "think of this, that they were never more corrupt, not even among the Gentiles. Search the history of antiquity, and compare the manners that be now-a-days. When was virtue and true honesty more despised? When was riot and excess more immoderate than now? When was adultery and all other kinds of unchaste living either more apparent in the sight of every man, or more unpunished, or else less had in shame, rebuke, or abomination?" Erasmus says the ancients shine bright and fair by the side of the present time. He refers to the holiness of Phocion, the poverty of Fabricius, the strong and courageous mind of Camillus, the straight justice of Brutus, the chastity of Pythagoras, the temperance of Socrates, the sound and constant virtue of Cato, and a thousand more goodly beams of all sorts of virtues which are read everywhere in the histories of the Lacedemonians, Athenians, Romans, to our great shame verily. He refers to Augustine's good life while still a pagan, when he despised money, counted honors for naught, was not moved with glory, praise, or fame, and to voluptuousness kept a bridle so straight that when he was a young man he was content with one little wench, to whom he kept promise and faith of marriage. Such examples now among men of the Church, even among Religious men (that is, monks) can not be easily found; and if such an one were found he would be pointed

at and mocked, as it were an ass, among apes. He shall be counted with one voice a doting fool, a gross head, a hypocrite, melancholy mad. So we Christian men honor the doctrine of Christ; so counterfeit we it now-a-days that nothing is accounted more foolish than to be a Christian man indeed.

Far otherwise Erasmus's judgment of the true life. "The real and only pleasure is the inward joy of a pure conscience. The most noble and daintiest dish that can be is the study of the Holy Scriptures. The most delectable songs be the Psalms indited of the Holy Spirit. The most pleasant fellowship is the communion of all the saints. The highest dainties of all are the fruition and enjoying of the very truth. Purge now thy eyes, purge thy ears, purge thy mouth, and Christ shall begin to wax sweet and pleasant to thee which tasted once sourly."

As to Church ceremonies, they profit nothing except there is inner cleansing. "Thou art baptized—think not forthwith that thou art a Christian man, but secret and before God thou art more heathen than any heathen man. Why so? Thou hast the body of the sacrament without the spirit, which only profiteth. The body is washed, but what matter maketh that while thy mind still remaineth defiled and inquinate. But if thou be buried with Christ within, and studiest to walk with Him in the new life, I then know thee for a

Christian man. Desirest thou to honor the saints? Imitate their life. Magnifiest thou a piece of Paul's carcass shining through a glass, and regardest not the whole mind of Paul shining through his letters? Christ's body of itself is of no avail. The corporal presence of Christ is unprofitable unto health. He had to depart that the Holy Ghost might come. But I in nowise rebuke or check corporal ceremonies of Christian men and devout minds of simple persons; namely, in such things as are approved by the authority of the Church. For they are now and then partly signs of piety, and partly helpers thereunto. They are necessary for the weak, and the perfect should not disdain them, lest by their example the weak person should take harm."

Is the "Enchiridion" Protestant or Catholic? Neither. It has not the Catholic emphasis on the sacraments as the channels of grace, and on the Roman Church as the mother of Christians, nor the Protestant emphasis on living faith in Christ as the fount and source of Christian life. It might be called a liberal Catholic manifesto of devotion. Salvation is through Christ by way of self-denial and a strenuously virtuous and upright life. Faith, of course, is assumed. It is the "one door to Christ," but not in the Protestant sense of such a taking hold of Christ as transforms the whole life. Troubles and sorrows, if piously borne, "will be added to the sum of thy merits if they find thee

in the way of Christ." But its lack of sacramental and Churchly tone, its denunciation of the monastic vices, its broad ethical and modern spirit,—all this at length led to its condemnation by the Sorbonne, the theological watch-dogs of the University of Paris. Ignatius Loyola looked into it once, but found that it checked his devotional feelings; so he put it down, and would have nothing to do with it for himself or his followers. And this is a sign.

CHATER VII.

IN ENGLAND AGAIN.

THE first fruits of Erasmus's Greek studies was a translation of some declamations of the pagan rhetorician, Libanius, the teacher of St. John Chrysostom, done in 1503, though not printed till 1519. About this time (1504) a copy of Lucian, printed in 1503 by Aldus, fell into his hands, and he became at once enamored of this brilliant and witty author, from whom he made all of his subsequent prose translations from the Greek. "Good heavens!" he writes on Lucian to his generous friend Ursewick, Dean of Windsor, "with what humor, with what quickness does he deal his blows, turning everything to ridicule, and letting nothing pass without a touch of mockery! His hardest strokes are aimed at philosophers, especially the Pythagoreans and Platonists, on account of their spiritual assumptions, and at the Stoics for their intolerable arrogance. The last are smitten hip and thigh, and with every sort of weapon, and not without good reason. What is more hateful or insufferable than malice putting on the mask of virtue? Hence he had the title of blasphemer from those who were touched in a tender part. He uses no less

liberty throughout his writings in deriding the gods, whence the name Atheist was bestowed upon him, an honorable distinction as coming from the impious and superstitious." As in a glass face answereth to face, so Lucian to Erasmus. For the Platonists he put the Scotists, for the Stoics the monks,—"the fable is spoken of thee." These translations of Lucian were published in Paris in 1506.

Erasmus fell in with a copy of Laurentius Valla's "Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum"—still in manuscript—that valiant light of Italian Renaissance, that sham-hater and legend-destroyer, a man after Erasmus's and Ulrich von Hutten's own heart. Of him Poggio wrote the epigram:

> "Nunc postquam Manes defunctus Valla petivit,
> Nun audet Pluto verba Latina loqui.
> Jupiter hunc superis dignatus honore fuisset,
> Censorem linguæ sed timet ipse suae."*

At an early time Erasmus defended Valla against his detractors. "Where is the man whose heart is so narrowed by jealousy as not to have the highest praise for Valla, a man who, with so much energy, zeal, and labor, refuted the stupidities of the barbarians, saved half-buried letters from extinction, restored Italy to her ancient splendor of eloquence, and forced even the learned to express

* "Now, since the dead Valla sought shades below, Pluto dares not speak any Latin. Jupiter might have thought him worthy of honor in the heavenly places; but even he fears the censor of his language."

themselves with more circumspection?" Valla was the first to translate Thucydides (1452), the original manuscript of which is in the Vatican library, for which he received from Pope Nicholas V 500 florins. "I am reading through Laurentius's 'Thucydides,'" says Erasmus in 1493, "which I find somewhat obscure, both because Greece is little known to me, and because he moves in a concise and hurried way, like Sallust. It is no fault of Laurentius; he is terse, careful, refined, and most observant of his own Elegances; there is no ornate passage on which he fails to lay stress."

"When I was hunting last summer in an old library," writes Erasmus to Christopher Fisher, Prothonotary Apostolic, in an epistle which served as a preface to his edition of Valla's Annotations (1505)—"for no coverts afford more delightful sport—some game of no common sort fell unexpectedly into my nets. It was Laurentius Valla's 'Notes on the New Testament.'" These notes were not doctrinal, purely linguistic; but they were of immense significance, because they were the first modern (about 1445) attempt to correct the official Church Latin text (the Vulgate) by an appeal to the Greek original. Schwahn says that Valla's notes are frequently excellent, in fact even brilliant, though of course they do not measure up to what modern critcism would demand, with its fullness of manuscript sources; but they show

an earnest striving for the restoration of a good and readable translation. Nicholas V sent a copy to Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, who highly praised it (1450). Nevertheless, it found but little acceptance, as the Church did not want to be disturbed in her high estimate of the translation of Jerome, just as to-day the Protestant Churches do not seem to want the incorrect King James version founded on faulty manuscripts to be pushed aside by the far better Revised Version. Erasmus was the first to print Valla's notes (Paris, 1505), but he did not live long enough to see this work placed in the "Index of Forbidden Books" by Paul IV, in 1559.

Erasmus's letter to Christopher Fisher, which forms the preface to his reprint of Valla, is a noble plea for the right to appeal to the Greek text, and is perhaps the first systematic vindication of scholarly dealing with the Sacred Scriptures, and as such is of epoch-making significance. "The translation of Scriptures," he says, "belongs to the grammarian, and it is not absurd to suppose Jethro to be in some things wiser than Moses. Neither do I think that theology herself, the queen of all sciences, will hold it beneath her dignity to be waited upon by her handmaid Grammar, which, if it be inferior in rank to other sciences, certainly performs a duty as necessary as the others. If it be said that theology is too great to be confined to the laws of grammar, and that interpretation of

Scripture depends upon the influence of the Holy Spirit, it is truly a new dignity for divines if they are the only people who are privileged to speak incorrectly. Jerome distinguishes between a prophet, who foretells future events through the Spirit, and an interpreter, who translates sentences by erudition and command of language. Again, what is the use of Jerome laying down rules for the translation of the sacred writings if that faculty comes by inspiration? Lastly, why is Paul said to be more eloquent in Hebrew than in Greek? Jerome amended, but what he amended is now again corrupted. As the authority of the old books is to be tested by the Hebrew rolls, so the truth of the new books requires to be measured by the Greek text, according to the authority of Augustine, whose words are cited in the 'Decreta' (distinct. ix). Again, if some say that the old interpreters are sufficient, I reply that I would rather see with my own eyes than with those of others (rather examine the Greek text myself), and much as they have said they have left much to be said by posterity. Besides, some skill in languages is required to understand even their explanations. Again, old copies are corrupted. Consequently, most learned Christopher, what you often say is as true as truth, that they have neither sense nor shame who presume to write upon the sacred books—indeed, upon any books of the ancients—without being tolerably furnished in both literatures; for it may well happen

that while they take the greatest pains to display their learning, they become a laughing-stock to those who have any skill in languages, and all their turmoil is reduced to nothing by the production of a Greek word."

Early in 1505 Erasmus went to England again, called there by his generous pupil, Lord Mountjoy, who held out prospects of preferment or other gain. In his letter to Servatius, the new head of his old convent at Stein, he says he had serious reasons for going, "though the gain we sought is not increase of fortune, but of learning." In his "Catalogue of Lucubrations" he says that he was tempted by letters of friends and their promise of mountains of gold, an instance of one of those equivocations which Erasmus allowed himself in order to keep out of his convent and be solid with the Church authorities. Such statements he did not think wrong, considering the great end he had in view—so much we must concede to his Catholic training. "There are in London five or six men who are accurate scholars in both tongues, such I think even Italy herself at present does not possess," he writes to Servatius. "I do not set any value upon myself; but it seems there is not one of these that does not make much of my capacity and learning. For myself, I think nothing settled unless I have the approval of Christ, on whose simple vote all our felicity depends." Erasmus dates this epistle from the bishop's house in London, in order,

as Nichols thinks, to give it a more respectful reception at Stein.

While in England he translated into Latin Lucian's Dialogue, "Toxaris, or Friendship" ("Luciani Opuscula," Paris, 1506), and sent it with delicately written epistle or dedication to an influential prelate, Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, the wealthiest diocese of England. "The speech of Menelaus has a flavor entirely Greek; it is smooth, lively, and witty. That of Toxaris breathes a Scythian spirit, simple, rough, serious, and stern. This difference of diction, a diverse thread purposely followed throughout by Lucian, I have endeavored to reproduce. I beg you auspicially to accept this New Year's trifle from your humble client, and to continue to love, advance, and assist Erasmus, as you have hitherto done." Erasmus did not mistake his patrons.

He also published translations of Euripides's "Hecuba" and "Iphigenia in Aulis" (Paris, 1506), and dedicated the volumes to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the most enlightened prelates England ever had, and a firm friend and generous patron of Erasmus. "What pains it cost me to make this translation they only know who shall descend into the same arena. For the mere act of making good Latin out of good Greek is one that requires no ordinary artist. It is easy, therefore, to guess what a task it is to render verse by verse, especially when the poetry is so various and un-

usual, and that out of an author not only ancient and a tragedian, but wonderfully close, subtle, and rapid, in whom there is nothing superfluous, nothing that you can either take away or alter without injury, and one moreover who frequently introduces rhetorical passages and treats them so acutely that he constantly seems to be pleading a cause. Consider, too, the choruses which by some affectation are so obscure as really to require an Œdipus or the Delian god himself rather than a mere translator." The justness of Erasmus's literary criticism I must refer to our Professors of Greek.

Nichols reprints the so-called "Grace of the University of Cambridge" (from the Grace Book, 1505-6), giving Erasmus the right to read publicly or to teach *(ad incipiendum in Theologia)* in that university, provided he should make one or two responses, preach two sermons to the clergy, preach an examination sermon, and publicly lecture on the Epistle to the Romans, and provided he should first be admitted Bachelor in the same Faculty of Theology. This was entering him on the road to the Doctorate of Theology. Some scholars claim that Erasmus now went to Cambridge, received his Bachelor of Divinity degree, and lectured on Greek. This claim is based on no contemporary record (though we know from the University of Turin record of 1506 that he was already a Bachelor), but upon Dr. John Caius's "Latin History of the University of Cambridge," 1574, who had been

resident at the university, 1529 ff. It is extremely improbable that Erasmus lectured in Cambridge in 1506 without some mention of the fact appearing in his correspondence. We know that Erasmus entered as a theological student in Paris, and he may have attained the Bachelor's degree there. It is likely that Caius misplaced his Cambridge work of 1511-13 on the strength of the Grace of 1506.

In Erasmus's translation of Lucian's "Dialogues," made while he was in England in 1506, and published, as already stated, in Paris in that year, there is printed a prefatory epistle by his noble and true-hearted friend, Thomas More, which has some refreshingly frank and Christian words on the lies and superstitions favored by the Church. Lucian comes in here as indirectly a Christian teacher. We shall be happier, says More, when we are less terrified by these dismal superstitious lies which are given forth with so much authority. Even Augustine was no proof against them. No wonder if ruder minds are affected by fictions invented by those who think they are serving Christ when they have invented some fable about a saint or a tragic description of hell. There is scarcely a life of a martyr or virgin in which there are not such falsehoods,—"an act of piety, no doubt, considering the risk that truth would be insufficient unless propped up by lies." All such inventions are injurious to religion, which was founded by truth herself, and consists of truth.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN ITALY.

It had long been Erasmus's ambition to visit Italy—first, in order to perfect his own attainments, and, second, to secure a standing ground of honor and reputation from which he could fight immoral and obscurantist priests and theologians wedded to an outworn scholasticism. He had expressed this desire to the Marchioness of Vere in 1501. "Two things I have long felt absolutely necessary. One is, that I should visit Italy in order that the renown of that country may invest my poor learning with some little authority; the other, that I should take my Doctor's degree. Both things are really absurd (ineptum). For, as Horace says, they do not change the mind who cross the sea, the shadow of a great name will not make me by one hair's breadth more learned. But, as the times are, you have to go according to the custom when no one is accounted learned—I shall not say by the people, but even by the lovers of learning—unless he is called *magister noster,* even though Christ, Prince of Theologians, forbids it."

The physician to Henry VII, Dr. Baptista Bocrio, wanted to send his two sons to Italy to

finish their education. He invited Erasmus to accompany them and their tutor as the director of their studies,—truly a godsend to the eager, restless, needy scholar. They left England in 1506 by London (not Dover), and were tossed about for four days by rough seas which so upset the delicate Erasmus that he vowed that he would never travel again by sea where there was any road by land. The companions staid several weeks in Paris, where Erasmus put to press his Latin edition of the "Hecuba" and "Iphigenia" of Euripides, enlarged the "Adages," and made preparations for other works. He sent to the Bishop of Chartres a translation of the "Alexander" or the "Pseudomantis" of Lucian. "I have sent you Lucian's 'Pseudomantis,' a wicked scoundrel, but more serviceable than any one else in detecting and expressing the imposture of a class of people not unknown to you, who even in these times are wont to delude the vulgar with magic miracles, or with pretended pardons and conjuries of that sort."

He left Paris in August, 1506, remained a few days in Orleans, staid over in Lyons, where his entertainment gave him occasion in his "Colloquies" to contrast, in a bright and biting fashion, French inns and German; then on through Savoy, the Alps, and Piedmont. In his Alpine journey he composed, mostly on horseback, a poem on the approach of old age, written at forty to bid farewell to youth and vigor of manhood. Men grew

older more quickly in that age of plagues. Modern sanitation, the popularization of physiology, and the advance of medicine have wrought wonders. The party proceeded first to Turin, where Erasmus received the diploma of Doctor of Theology, September 4, 1506. No study or residence was demanded, and this degree must have been granted for the same reason that our honorary degrees are *sometimes* granted, viz., as a recognition of special attainments in theological science. Thence the companions went to the celebrated University of Bologna, the goal of their ambition, to visit which was the aim of every earnest student of the North. The glory of Bologna and Padua was at its height, though as Rhenanus, his biographer, says, Erasmus carried there what others went to seek. Turin must have thought this, for her writers love to recall the fact that it was her university which gave Erasmus his Doctorate, and on the three hundred and seventieth anniversary of the granting of the degree (1876), she placed a commemorative inscription beneath the portico of the university. Erasmus affected to despise this degree, though, as De Nolhac says, it was one of the things he went for. "I have lately accepted the degree of Doctor of Theology, contrary to my sentiment and by the compulsion of friends, who thought this title would confer on me some authority." He says the same thing again in two other letters.

Our savant chose a bad time for his descent

into Italy. Julius II, the warrior pope, was trying to bring back the territories detached from his dominions. At Bologna his irreconcilable enemies ruled, and Julius marched against them. Erasmus feared a siege, and left for Florence. The city of the Medici left no trace on the spirit of Erasmus. But yesterday and Savonarola and his two brave companions were burning there on that horrible funeral pyre, the smoke of which still blackens the fame of his murderers. His best friends were guarding that heroic tradition. But it made no impression on our light-hearted scholar. Erasmus was never heard to speak of him except as a disturber and revolutionary, and the rare mention he makes of this episode shows, as De Nolhac remarks, that he never looked into it long. When he mentions him it is always in an unfavorable way, and we look in vain for a trace of regret for the abortive effort of the Florentine. Let us add, says De Nolhac, that Savonarola had in his eyes the wrong of being a monk. Nor did the singular charm of Florence to a Renaissance man come home to Erasmus. In a soil free and peaceable in the midst of armed Italy the great artists seemed to be reunited to work in common to instruct each other: Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Fra Bartolomeo, Andrea del Sarto—the most celebrated group of men who ever glorified art at one place at one time—were working with open shops. But the Hollander was after other things; he never was

initiated into Italian art and spirit. He blamed the munificence of the Dukes of Milan to the splendid church of the Charterhouse monks at Pavia; and as for the wonders of Florence, he passed by on the other side. As a Humanist, did he forget that he was at the very cradle of the Renaissance of letters, in the city of Politian and Poggio? "But he did not choose," says De Nolhac, "to know a person on the banks of the Arno; he ignored that the secretary of the republic called himself Machiavelli; he grieved at being forced to waste his time, and applied himself with fury to turn into Latin the Dialogues of Lucian: 'I added some Dialogues of Lucian during the few days we took refuge in Florence for fear of the siege. In Italy, at present, studies are killed while wars are warm. Pope Julius fights, conquers, triumphs; in fact, plays the part of Julius to perfection.'"

After six weeks, as the pope had now the upper hand, Erasmus returned to Bologna. Erasmus saw his triumphal entry. The chief street of Bologna was hung with cloth and decorated with trophies and arches of green, with the inscription, "To Julius II, Conqueror of the Tyrant." The women waved their handkerchiefs along the whole line of the procession, which was opened by a hundred young nobles symbolizing the vanquished Roman and recalling the prisoners before the chariot of the ancient emperors. The girls of the city threw roses in the passage of the pontiff, who advanced

under a dais of silk, preceded by the Holy Sacrament, and accompanied by twenty-two cardinals. At this pageant, which did not recall the entrance of Peter into Rome, Erasmus assisted, a silent, grim spectator under the arcades of Bologna. "I could not help groaning within myself," he said much later, "when I compared these triumphs, at which even lay princes would have blushed, with the majesty of the apostles, who converted the world by the majesty of their doctrine, and who wrought miracles so that even the sick were healed by their shadow alone."

A singular adventure Erasmus met with in Bologna, which throws light upon the customs of the time. When a plague was abroad it was the custom of the physicians to wear a white sash across the shoulder down the breast and back, so that they could be readily distinguished and avoided. They also usually passed along deserted streets, as otherwise they would be stoned! According to the French use, Erasmus carried a kind of white band on his monk's vestment. At one time two roughs saw him, and were about to attack him sword in hand, though a woman told them that the band indicated a priest and not a physician. But they would not desist, and would have played him an ugly trick if he had not escaped to a friend's house. At another time a threatening crowd surrounded him, armed with stones and sticks, crying out, "Kill the dog, kill the dog!" A priest passed, and

whispered to Erasmus, "The asses!" but did not disperse the crowd or explain to them their mistake. Soon a young man of fine dress came out of a neighboring house, to whom Erasmus went as to a savior, told him he did not know the language of the country, and did not know what they wanted of him. "Be sure," responded the Bolognese, "that if you do not take off this piece of cloth, they will stone you every day." So Erasmus divested himself of this mark of the Augustinian order, and obtained from the pope a permission to appear in regular clerical garb, without monastic trappings, or a costume half-clerical, half-lay; "in which we see," says Lilly, finely, "the outward, visible sign of the inner man of the heart." De Nolhac closes the story with the remark that he recognizes in the Italian populace of to-day traits analogous to those which called out Erasmus's judgment, and confirms that judgment even now. "These people have such a horror of death that the mere odor of incense makes them furious, because it is burned at funerals."

Erasmus was in Bologna from November, 1506, to December, 1507. What did he do there? He did not attend any lectures at the university, but was engaged entirely in literary work, outside of his Greek studies with Bombasio, one of the most learned teachers and noble men at the university. This friendship with him, which lasted until Bombasio met his death at the ill-fated siege of Rome

in 1527, compensated him for the trials and losses of this long year. In the house of Bombasio he worked over again his "Adages," and amended them with an erudition lively and inexhaustible. This revision was for the great printing-house of Aldus in Venice, for whom also he revised his "Euripides." He also revised and enlarged a book which he still had in manuscript, the "Antibarbari," written in his own defense. He intrusted this manuscript with his friend Richard Pace, who let it slip out of his hands in Rome. He composed a treatise on the advantages and disadvantages of the Religious (i. e., monastic) life, which was also lost. But we can not share his regrets at this, because, as De Nolhac well says, we have more valuable materials on the same subject in his "Colloquies." His friends pressed him to give public lectures, but he declined, doubtless because he was after higher game, but ostensibly because his Northern accent would prejudice his Latin, and make him appear ridiculous. Much later Erasmus said that he learned very little in Italy. I do not take much stock in this. De Nolhac asks with justice: "Was not that year in Bologna, in the midst of new society, surrounded with unrivaled intellectual researches, one of the most fruitful of his life? A year in the house of the great Greek scholar Bombasio for an inquisitive and eager learner and diligent worker could not be without spoils."

Helped by the funds of the Prince of Carpi, Aldus had established his press in Venice in 1490, where, with loving skill and learned interest, he began to publish Greek and Latin texts. The first volume of Aristotle appeared in 1495; nine comedies of Aristophanes in 1498; Thucydides, Sophocles, and Herodotus in 1502; Xenophon (Hellenics) and Euripides in 1503; and Demosthenes in 1504. In October, 1507, Erasmus wrote to him asking whether he would print a few of his translations from Euripides. "By the skill and unrivaled beauty of your typography, but also by intelligence and learning of no common order, you have thrown a vast light upon the literature of Greece and Rome. I am told you are editing Plato in Greek, a book expected with the greatest interest by the learned world" (it was printed in 1513). "If you undertake the business, I propose to supply the corrected copy sent by the bearer without any charge, except that you will be so good as to send me a few volumes for presentation to friends."

Aldus brought out the revised translation of the "Hecuba" and "Iphigenia" of Euripides immediately (1507), and invited him to Venice, where he could arrange for the new edition of the "Adages." Erasmus accepted, went at the end of 1507, was lodged by Aldus at the house of his father-in-law, Andrea d'Alsola, co-printer with Aldus. During this ten months' sojourn his correspondence ceased, probably on account of

being so busy with his literary work. Nichols gives a rich passage from a still later edition of the "Adages" (1526), which shows how it was possible for both Aldus and Erasmus to do their work as editors. Ancient manuscripts were sent to Aldus with great liberality. "When I, a Hollander, was publishing in Italy my work on the Proverbs, all the learned who were within reach came forward to supply me with the authors not yet printed that they thought likely to be of use. Aldus had nothing in his treasures which he did not place at my service." For nine months he was working at the "Adages," helped by this rich material so freely offered. He contrasts this with the penuriousness of many owners of manuscripts in the North. "There are old manuscripts hidden in the college monasteries of Germany, France, and England, which, with few exceptions, their possessors are so far from volunteering to communicate that, when asked, they either hide or refuse them, or sell the use of them at an extravagant charge, ten times the value of the priced copies."

Those were busy months which our scholar spent in the library of Aldus, apparently within sound of the noise of the printing-office. "Aldus often declared that he wondered how I could write such a quantity offhand in the midst of so much noise and bustle." After he got through with his "Adages," he helped Aldus with Plautus, Terence, and other books. An invitation to teach rhetoric to Alex-

ander Stewart, Archbishop elect to St. Andrews, and a natural son of James IV. of Scotland, took him to Padua in October or November, 1508. There he had an agreeable stay, enlivened by intercourse with Greeks and other friends, but saddened by wars which were the curse of Italy then, and of every land touched by them since. "Accursed are those wars which prevent our enjoying a part of Italy [Padua], which pleases me more and more every day." By the middle of December, 1508, he was on his way to Siena with his pupil. Here he spent two months superintending his studies. In carnival time he witnessed a bull-fight, "in which the bull was confronted, not by swordsmen on foot or a mounted lancer, but by great wooden machines in the shape of various beasts moved by men inclosed within them."

Then on to Rome, where he was on easy terms with learned men and cardinals, and where he spent most of the spring of 1509. Erasmus was in high feather. The purpose of his Italian journey had been accomplished. He had become acquainted with the most eminent scholars of that country of scholars, from whom he had received stimulus and instruction, by whom he was himself recognized as an equal. By the publication of the Venice edition of his "Adages" he had established his reputation as a man of fine literary gifts and incomparable learning. He was now free to apply himself to editing or writing those works by which he

hoped to roll back the tide of obscurantism and bring in a brighter era for the Church. Would he go forward? Hopes of rich preferment were held out to him in Rome. He felt the charm of that wonderful city, the appealing fascination of which has been marked by so many visitors. He calls it himself—this homesickness for Rome—*"desiderium Romæ;"* and it never left him. Hardly a year passed but he said, "Ah! when shall I visit Rome again!" *Alma urbs,* he used to call it,—the city neither he nor any other scholar had to learn to love. "Unless I had violently torn myself away, I should never have left it," he writes to Cardinal Grimani. But in spite of all this, in spite of promised leisure and honor, he would not sacrifice his independence nor his higher ambitions. Besides, Henry VII had died April 22d, and the most promising young prince then living had ascended the throne in a land that Erasmus loved. Money to pay his traveling expenses to England, promises of preferment from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the most rose-colored letter from Mountjoy, were on the way, and Erasmus left Italy, never to return. Little did he foresee that that "extraordinary and almost divine character, that lover of justice and goodness, who bears such affection to the learned, who has traced a letter to you with his own fingers," would become the savage tyrant and merciless despot who would send to death the best and noblest of that Erasmian circle who were the glory of his land.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRAISE OF FOLLY.

A BRILLIANT Roman Catholic scholar, W. S. Lilly, speculates on the probable results of Erasmus's yielding to the fascination of Rome, and settling down as high officer—perhaps cardinal—at the papal court. He had already met John de' Medici, the future Leo X, by whom he was highly regarded. "Invested with the cardinalitial dignity, a trusty privy councilor of Leo X, who fully appreciated both his learning and his piety, might he not have withheld that pontiff, constitutionally indisposed to violent courses, from the fatal policy which drove Luther unwillingly into rebellion? Certain it is, as Creighton has pointed out, that 'in all the list of men of learning who graced the papal court, there was no one found to understand the issue raised by Leo, and to suggest a basis for reconciliation.' As certain it is—this comes out over and over again in Erasmus's letters—that he fully understood that issue, and could have suggested a way of escape from it. Might he not have successfully counseled reforms in abatement of those crying abuses and scandals in the Church

which shocked all wise men and saddened all good men? Might he not have hindered, at all events have softened, the collision between 'old and new, disastrous strife,' the issue of which was to shatter the religious unity of Europe, to dissolve the brotherhood of men in some sort realized in mediæval Christendom?"

The roots of the Reformation lay deeper than even the sagacious and clear-headed Erasmus saw. No skillful ecclesiastical temporizing could have saved Germany from that storm, though it might have saved England for a time. There was no balm in Catholic Gilead for the healing of the hurt of the daughter of my people; and because even Erasmus had no panacea that went deep enough, it is doubtful if his remaining in Rome would have had the result suspected by Lilly.

Erasmus left Rome in 1509, was fortunate enough for safety's sake to get in with a crowd of travelers, went to Bologna, Milan, across the Alps by the old Via Mala to Coire, Constance, the Black Forest, Strasburg, and thence down the Rhine to Holland. He arrived in London about the middle of July, 1509, and remained in England for five years, with brief intermissions of visits to Paris, etc. While on his journey he meditated, and partly wrote, a book which he finished in a week at the home of More in London. It is "The Praise of Folly," in which Stultitia is personified and passes judgment in a breezy fashion

on the men and institutions of the age. It is a mirror of the pre-Reformation world. It was the most popular book Erasmus ever wrote. It exactly suited his semi-serious, semi-humorous nature, and is without doubt, from a literary point of view, the best book of that age. "Nowhere is the author's keen, supple, and active intellect seen to greater advantage; nowhere is his diction more lively, polished, and fluent. Nowhere is his satire—an essential constituent of his writings—more graceful, airy, and mordant. But the literary merits of this famous satire are by no means its only merits. It was a triumphant indictment at the bar of public opinion of the two great enemies of 'good learning' —degenerate monachism and effete scholasticism; an indictment preferred by the most accomplished man of letters then living; an indictment the more effective for the mocking tone in which it was couched, when Folly claims these ecclesiastical obscurantists as her darling children, and celebrates their wonderful performances."

Froude is mistaken when he says the object of the Moria "was evidently to turn the whole existing scheme of theology into ridicule." His object was, as Erasmus says, "to pass in review what is ridiculous in the ways of men." Among the ridiculous things were the extravagances of the logic-chopping theologians,—the surviving methods of the famous scholastic divines of the Middle Ages, with their outworn disputations. The existing scheme of

theology included these things, but it included much other and higher with which Erasmus had no trouble. As to these scholastic inanities, Erasmus says: "They explain hidden mysteries as they please; how the world was made and set in order; by what channels original sin was conveyed to posterity; in what ways, what measure, in how little time, it was perfected in the Virgin's womb; how in the Eucharist accidents exist without location. But these are mere commonplaces. The following are the kinds of questions they think worthy of great and—as their phrase is—illuminated theologians. Does the category of time apply to the divine generation? Is there more than one relation of Sonship in Christ? Whether the proposition, 'God hates the Son,' can be maintained; whether God could be hypostatically united to a woman (*num Deus potuerit suppositare mulierem*), to the devil, an ass, a gourd, a flint; then, how a gourd could have preached, worked miracles, have been crucified; whether the sacramental elements could have been transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, if Peter had consecrated them at the time when the body of Christ was actually hanging on the cross; whether, after the resurrection, men will require to eat and drink; and ten thousand other flimsy subtleties there are concerning which these learned doctors will gravely deliberate. They are perpetually disputing about 'instants,' 'relations,' 'formalities,' 'quiddities,' 'ecceities,'—about

things which are so indiscernible as to take a Lynceus to see them. But worse: they talk about it being a less crime to kill a thousand men than to mend a poor man's shoe on Sunday; that it would be better to let the whole world perish, bag and baggage, than to tell the least lie. I believe the very apostles themselves would want some other spirit if they were obliged to encounter this new race of theologians. No doubt they (the apostles) devoutly consecrated the Eucharist. And yet if asked about the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem,* concerning the mode in which the same body could be in diverse places; concerning the difference between the body of Christ in heaven, on the cross, or in the sacrament of the Eucharist; at what exact time the act of transubstantiation is consummated (since the prayer of consecration is uttered piecemeal),—they would have been put to their wits; whereas, as everybody knows, those shrewd theologians, the Scotists, can easily analyze all these transcendental mysteries."

Erasmus does not hesitate to attack the way they were living at the Church's headquarters. "If the cardinals claim to be successors to the apostles, they should consider that the same things are required of them as their predecessors. So if the popes, being the vicars of Christ, endeavored to emulate His life, His labors, His teachings, His cross, His contempt of the world; if they thought of their name of pope, that is father, and their title

Most Holy,—what more afflicted beings would there be on earth? Who, in that case, would purchase the post with all his fortune, and when purchased keep it with his sword, with poison, and with violence [a dig at Julius II and other popes]? If wisdom stepped in, what abasement would be theirs! Wisdom, did I say? Nay, one grain of that salt of which Christ speaks. Their wealth, their honors, their riches, and their pleasures would all be gone, and in their place would be studies, sermons, prayers, tears, vigils, fastings, and a thousand miserable labors of the same kind. Neither should we forget what would follow: a whole host of clerks, notaries, advocates, secretaries, of muleteers, grooms, and serving-men (I might add other words which would shock modest ears) would be reduced to famine. The princes of the Church would be reduced to scrip and staff! Thanks to my (Folly's) influence, there is scarcely any kind of people who live more at their ease than do these successors of the apostles; thinking that Christ is quite satisfied if, in a mysterious theatrical costume, with their ceremonies and titles of Beatitude, Reverence, Holiness, with their blessings—and their curses—they play the part of bishops. Miracles are out of date; teaching is laborious; explaining the Scriptures is the employment of the schools; praying is idle; weeping is wretched and womanly; poverty is sordid; to be conquered in battle is unworthy of one who scarcely admits the highest

kings to kiss his blessed feet; to die is disagreeable, to be crucified is ignominious. There remain only arms and those fair speeches of which Paul makes mention (Romans xvi, 18), and of those they are liberal enough: to wit, interdictions, suspensions, anathemas, and that terrific thunder whereby, with a single nod, they send men's souls to farthest Tartarus. These thunders are most eagerly launched by the Most Holy Fathers in Christ upon those who, by the instigation of the devil, endeavor to diminish the patrimony of Peter. But what says Peter in the Gospel? 'Lord, we have left all, and followed thee.' And yet they give the name of *his* patrimony to provinces and cities for which they fight with fire and sword; as though there were more pernicious enemies of the Church than impious pontiffs, who, by neglect of teaching, allow Christ to be forgotten, who bind by laws made for profit, adulterate by forced interpretations, and slay by a pestilent life. And whereas war is a thing so fierce and cruel as to be more suitable to men so impious that it can not at all be reconciled with Christianity, nevertheless this is the one business to which they give their attention. Among them you will see decrepit old men [like Julius II] display the energy of a youthful spirit, deterred by no cost, fatigued by no labors, if so they can turn religion, laws, peace, and all human affairs upside down. Nor are there wanting learned flatterers who to this plain insanity give the name of zeal, of

piety, and fortitude, having devised a way in which a man may draw his sword and sheath it in his brother's body, without any violation of Christ's charity."

Folly also pays her respects to those "who quiet their conscience with fictitious pardons, and measure out the time to be spent in purgatory as with an hour-glass. And those again who, relying on the performance of certain superstitious penances and invocations which some pious impostor of a priest has devised, promise themselves all sorts of good things in consequence. To my school belongs also any one who thinks that the whole moral quagmire of his life can be cleansed by the payment to a priest of a paltry little bit of money, who imagines that the guilt of his perjuries, etc., can be bought off in this cheap and easy way,—so thoroughly blotted out that he has before him a clean page of life, which he is at liberty to fill in with a new catalogue of depravities. And what more silly than the conduct of those who promise themselves felicity hereafter by repeating over and over again day by day seven versicles from the sacred Psalms. So also those who propitiate saints devoted to particular functions of relief; this saint to relieve a toothache, another to help at a birth, another to get back something stolen, to assist the shipwrecked, etc. Other saints are appealed to for all sorts of things, such as the deiparous Virgin. who is held in almost greater honor by the

common view of man than even her divine Son Himself. What fooleries abound among us Christians, fooleries allowed and fostered without compunction by their priests, only too wide-awake to the considerable gains that accrue to them in consequence!"

All classes come in for the satire of Erasmus. Wherever there is folly he strikes. He thinks hunting a base calling. Fools are they who hear with delight the "tuneless blast of the hunting-horn, or the doleful howling of the hound." He describes the cutting up of a wild animal. The sound feeling of Erasmus repelled the life of a hunter with contempt, as did his friend More in his "Utopia." "The exercise of hunting, as a thing unworthy to be used of free men, the Utopians have rejected to their butchers, to which craft they appoint their slaves; for they account hunting as the lowest, the vilest, and most abject part of butchery." How is that to-day for those who hunt innocent animals for sport!

Folly pays her respects to her devotees, the alchemists, the gamblers, miracle-mongers, ghost-story tellers, those who set store on their lineage, and those who boast of their country. "The British pride themselves on their good looks, good music, and good cheer; the Scotch on their claims to be of noble or royal lineage, and on their cleverness of repartee; and the French on their politeness; the Parisians on their knowledge of theology—of a

theology, however, of so singular a sort that almost all articles have been expunged out of it. The Italians so plume themselves on their literature and eloquence—in fact, so thoroughly, so sweetly delighted are they with themselves on this account—that they regard themselves to be the only people on the earth who are not absolutely barbarians. The Romans are ravished with beatific dreams of Rome's ancient splendor; the Venetians glory in their noble origin; the degenerate Greeks in the antique titles of their heroic progenitors; the Turks in their religion, while the Spaniards think none their equals in warlike renown; and the Germans boast of their lofty stature and knowledge of magic."

But let this suffice. Gentle reader, buy "The Praise of Folly" for yourself, and, through the candid and searching eyes of that observant critic and kindly monitor, see just what sort of a world that was in the year that Luther visited Rome!

Erasmus kept his book in manuscript for some months, then had it printed in Paris in 1511. Its fame spread like wildfire, and, as there was then no copyright law, there were many independent reprints, such as that of Schürer in Strasburg in 1511, and of Martens in Antwerp in 1512, copies of both of which are in the British Museum.

CHAPTER X.

THE QUESTION AS TO THE MONKS.

In 1888 Father Gasquet, an able Benedictine monk, published his well-known defense of his brethren of the sixteenth century, "Henry VIII and the English Monasteries." Historians are generally agreed that Henry was much more concerned about the monks' money than he was about their morality; and since Gasquet's book there has been an inclination to look with lenient eyes upon the monks of the later Middle Ages, and to believe that they have been too severely dealt with by kings and nobles who wanted their property, and by historians who exaggerated their failings. A sudden halt has been called to this good-natured tendency to follow Gasquet's lead, by a London lawyer, Mr. G. G. Coulton, who has for several years been making studies in mediæval literature. He has shown that the learned Benedictine dealt unfairly by his sources, made many unverified and unverifiable assertions, misrepresented his facts, and that, even in the matter of the suppression of monasteries in England, Gasquet has by no means said the last word. In this contest between Catholic monk and

Protestant layman it will be interesting to turn back to find the verdict of a man of the dying Middle Ages, who knew the monks at first hand, who retained his friendship for some of them as long as he lived, and who—as one that never repudiated the Catholic Church—may be assumed to speak without prejudice.

Erasmus gives a lifelike picture in the ninth chapter of his "Praise of Folly." A brief abstract is all I can give. These men are called religious orders or monks, though both designations are misleading, as the greater number have neither religion nor solitude. The people shun them: so much so that to meet a monk is an evil omen. They are illiterate; many can not even read. Still they chant a set number of Psalms, but without knowing their meaning. In appearance some of them are tatterdemalions, going about begrimed with filth, begging from door to door; and in this they drive a successful trade. Though in some cases the outer garments are of goat-hair, yet their inner vestments are of the softest Milesian wool. Some of them make a great profession of sanctity in regard to money, as though it would soil their purity. "Would that they were equally scrupulous to shun the beastliness of intoxication and the defilements of degrading lusts!" While they show zeal to render their lives as little as possible like those of rational beings, they show no desire to be like Christ. In the Judgment what will avail their fasting (followed

by gorging), their chanting Psalms, their ceremonies, their dirt, etc.? Christ will repudiate them, or assign them to the Abraxas heaven (the highest of the three hundred and sixty-five heavens of the Basilidians, a Gnostic sect), or allow them to construct a heaven for themselves apart from the redeemed. As to their preaching, what a resounding they make; how they rave and cry! And with what little sense! If their subject be charity, they will begin with a long tirade about the Nile; if the cross, a dissertation about Bel. I heard a monk introduce a sermon on the Trinity with a long, dry address on the alphabet and the rudiments of grammar, leading up to an attempt to show that a resemblance of the Trinity was found in the rudiments of grammar. Another monk showed that the three cases of the word Jesus were a type of the Trinity, the word in the first case ending in s, the second (Jesum) in m, and the third (Jesu) in u. There you have at once the proof that Christ is the S-M-U, The Summum, the Medium, and the Ultimum, the Author, the Mediator, and the Accomplisher of redemption. Since rhetoricians teach (as, for example, Quintillian, *De Inst. Orat.* vi. 3) that an orator should know how to make his audience laugh, the monks endeavor to be facetious in their sermons, to deal in stupid jokes, which—O dear, Venus!—are about as comely, about as much in place, as a braying jackass would be in a concert-room!

That Erasmus really meant in sober earnest what he threw off here under the veil of satirical extravagance, is shown in his words elsewhere. In a letter to Christopher von Stadion, Bishop of Augsburg, August 26, 1528, he says that the monks drive their own work, not that of Christ, and have no wish that He should rule in the hearts of men, but that their own kingdom might become rich. At the close he says that he is sorry that the house of God rests upon their shoulders as upon Atlantes. The same day he writes in the same words to another bishop, and adds: "That Christian people must bear such udder-bags and nourish them! They are just like tumors which grow in the eye." In a letter in 1525 he calls them "herds of cattle" (pecudes). In a letter to the Holland president, Nicholas, in 1524, he says: "If a Franciscan should put on a black frock instead of a gray one, he would fear lest the devil would clap him into hell alive. But the same monk does not fear to perpetrate adultery, fornication, or other transgressions against the commands of God." To the apostolic secretary, Lambert Grunnius: "Who daily lies drinking in apostolic garment, who serves his throat and stomach, who secretly and privily lives unchastely, who dissipates in the luxury and money of the Church, who applies himself to divination and other damnable arts,—he is the virtuous monk who attains the honor of abbot. Who, however, for any reason, lays aside the vestment of the order is

cursed as an apostate, which horrible word is given only to those who fall away to Judaism or Heathenism."

I suspect that Erasmus lays on the brush with too dark colors here. But we must remember that he was not only indignant at many of the monks on account of their immoralities, but on account of their opposition to the New Learning. Even the Greek Testament, Erasmus says, some of them look upon as heretical. And they paid him back in his own coin. He wrote to the Franciscan, John Gachus: "There are those who assert that my writings work injury to the monastic orders. I am of the opinion that Christianity would not suffer if there were not so much difference in vestment, food, and titles, especially as monkery is in such a bad way that, if the externalities were done away with, the monks would appear worse than other men. A good many of the monasteries have so little religious discipline that one could lead a religious life nowhere less than there. I have not written this hitherto; for what is the use of writing what everybody knows? I blame those who use flatteries, threats, and other unfair acts in order to entice young, uneducated, simple people, who do not know themselves, let alone religion, into their weirs (or fish-nets), out of which they can not escape. In that way they serve as badly these young people as their order, which would be much better off to have fewer but more upright members."

He wrote his friend, Archbishop Warham, May 24, 1521: "If the matter goes as these people wish, who do everything they can to satisfy their stomachs and make fast their tyranny, then nothing remains for me but to write 'No Resurrection' as an inscription on the grave of Christ. For everything is over with evangelical love; the star of evangelical light is extinguished; the fountain of heavenly doctrine is dried up. They shamefully wheedle the princes, and everybody else from whom they hope for any advantage, to the deepest injury of Christian truth." "There are people," he says in his "Adages," "who, from their beard, pale face, hood, bent necks, girdle, earnestness, and dark strict countenance, you would take for Serapion and Paul. But when you investigate them more clearly, you find parasites, gluttons,—yes, robbers and tyrants—though in another way than these generally are, but all the more destructive, the more secret and lurking it is. Whom this does not hit, need not take it; but whom it does, take it for a warning." In the same book he speaks of the Servites, who serve the Virgin Mary alone, but have nothing to do with Christ. In another passage he portrays the monks' comprehensive activity and wide-sweeping influence, and closes as follows: "There is no princely court into which they have not sneaked. Has the Roman court anything on hand which does not accord with apostolic holiness, they turn to the monks. So, if there is war, a tumult, a collection

of revenue, a not all too modest gift,—in all these tragedies they play the first rôle. Meanwhile they inspire respect in the simplest folk by the appearance of holiness. In comparison with them, priests are no priests. Trusting them, the bishops sleep on both ears. The forsaken people, instead of having their own shepherds, are torn by a double wolfish race, while the prelates and Church authorities exercise tyranny; even these are not shepherds, but another kind of robbers. The uncorrupted among them complain of the same things that I do. The bees are able to kill the drones because the latter have no stings; they can drive the robber bees out of the hive. But these kind of drones and robbers have sharper stings than all hornets, and can be driven out by neither kings nor popes, without great overthrow of the Christian religion, so deeply have they driven their roots, so much have they invested the whole earth with their people and strongholds, and daily build new nests. They do this under the pretext that the religion of the earlier monasteries has decayed, as though the spirit of these people, if you could speak of such a thing, would not soon come to nothing. So it happens that the earth is burdened with godless and hated monks, and the people withdrawn from their princes, the flocks from their bishops, the people from their ministers, and the purity and freedom of the Christian religion is sunk down little by little to merely Jewish ceremonies."

If, then, Erasmus were told that the monks of his time were a fairly decent and pious folk, with rarely a black sheep here and there, we can imagine the shrewd scholar drawing his cloak around him, and with a sarcastic smile replying: "No doubt the English monks are all saints, but for the rest—please excuse me." At any rate, the readers of Gasquet and Coulton may be recommended to seek light where it may be found clear and full,—in the writings of Erasmus.

Henry VIII was soon busy in his wars, and had no time nor thought for Erasmus, who, if it had not been for his generous patron, Warham, assisted by Colet and Fisher, would have fared badly in England. He spent most of the time in the house of Grocyn, one of the earliest Greek teachers in England, who entertained him freely, whom he calls his "patron and teacher." Through the kindness of a bishop, John Fisher, one of the most progressive divines of the day, chancellor of the University of Cambridge, who was later to fall under Henry's ax, he was appointed lecturer in Greek at the university, where he went to reside, August, 1511. "Up to this time I have lectured on the Grammar of Chrysoloras, but only to a few pupils. Perhaps with a large audience we will begin with that of Theodorus. Perhaps we shall undertake a theological lecture, for that is now talked of. The pay is not enough to become an object to me, but in the meantime we are doing our best to be of use to study."

Unlike his former visits, Erasmus seemed to be ill at ease in England. He was hard pressed for money, as his letters from Cambridge reveal. He had but little salary, though large promises; the pupils paid no fees ("I have received just one noble from students, and that with much protesting and declining on my part"), and his income from his books was precarious. In Appendix A of his second volume, Nichols prints for the first time the Latin letter of the university to Mountjoy, appealing to him to help his old university pay the salary of her Greek professor. It is a unique document, perhaps the only one of its kind from that century. "If there is no hope in thee for Greek letters," runs this remarkable and pathetic appeal, "most noble Mountjoy and our chief Mecænas, necessity should impel us to implore thy help frequently. For it has come to this that, without thy and others' aid, we can not move. We have promised an immense stipend to our Greek teacher. We can not keep him except by ready, paid-down money. How can we, who have nothing, do this? So either a loss must come to Greek letters, or we, the friends charged with this, must place our faith in the favor of those in whom we hope not in vain. And unless thou willest to adorn the greatness of thy beneficence with the quickness of giving, our promises forthwith fail. Thy friendship is the only remedy which thou owest to us; for by thy high courtesy thou wilt not only not refuse, but will declare that

thou wilt help most willingly. Thou owest generosity to parents, as thou thyself art wont to speak, O thou Academy of mind! It is deemed impious not to help parents placed in extreme necessity. But as how much more excellent the soul than the body, by so much more ought any one to give more to teachers than to parents. Therefore, through thy excellence, most noble Mountjoy, we should know thee to value more highly the images of virtue and letters than of gold. Let us, thy friends, then, be ignorant if thou belongest to faint hearts, or if the gratitude of thy soul will not be about to yield to the most powerful."

In a letter from Cambridge, November 26, 1511, Erasmus has an interesting passage on the wars of Pope Julius II. "What say you,—is the high priest [the pope] gone to our Lady of Loretto [to seek her protection for his arms]? What piety, indeed! As to the war which is begun to be waged, see whether the Greek proverb will not be applicable, 'The Fate of the Moth.' For if anything should happen to the Roman Church, to whom could you most justly ascribe it than to the too energetic Julius? But, I pray you, suppose the French driven out of Italy, just consider whether you would prefer the Spaniards for masters, or the Venetians, whose own subjects can not tolerate them. For they will never put up with the priests for friends, neither again will it be possible to form a union among themselves by reason of the fatal dissensions of

hostile factions. I am afraid Italy will only change her masters, and when she can not bear the French, will be forced to bear some others twice as bad. But let the fates see to this; you and I are fighting the battle out of reach of shot." Too true was Erasmus's diagnosis of Italy's trouble.

His former glowing opinion of the English was changed into brutal depreciation of some of them at least: "For while these people [Nichols thinks he refers to court and university] are nothing but Cyprian bulls and dung-eaters, they think they are the only persons that feed on ambrosia and Jupiter's brain."

We shall let Erasmus tell the story of Warham's gift of the rectory of Aldington, in Kent, in the spring of 1512. "William, Archbishop of Canterbury, conferred upon me one benefice. This he pressed upon me in spite of my refusing it because it involved pastoral charge, which, owing to my ignorance of the language, I could not fulfill. He afterwards converted it into a pension [the benefice was worth about fifty pounds a year (one hundred nobles); Warham charged up against it in Erasmus's favor a yearly pension of twenty pounds (one hundred crowns): not much left to the poor rector!] and when he found that I still felt some compunction in receiving money which was collected from a congregation to whom I was of no use, the pious person Warham encouraged me thus: 'What great good would you do if you preached to one little

country congregation? You now teach the preachers themselves by your books, so do much more service; and does it seem wrong to you to receive some small portion of the revenue of the Church? I will assume that responsibility myself, and take care that your Church is duly provided.'" Still, to make Aldington pay for Erasmus's literary services to the world was an arrangement honorable neither to Warham nor to him.

In July, 1512, his Paris publisher put out his admirable work on composition and rhetoric for Latin pupils, "De Duplici Copia Verborum ac Rerum,"—a work which shows his fine literary sense, and which went through sixty-one editions in his own lifetime. It was prepared immediately for Colet's new St. Paul school in London, and to him it was dedicated. All this time he was busy with the collection of New Testament manuscripts, in the study of Jerome ("the work of correcting and commenting upon Jerome interests my mind so warmly that I feel as if I was inspired by some god; I have already emended almost of the whole by collecting many ancient copies: and this puts me to an incredible expense"), and, as side studies, translating more of Lucian and Plutarch. Some of the works of the latter he published in Basel ("Plutarchi Opuscula") in 1514, and his little treatise on how to preserve health without drugs he translated and published in Louvain in 1513.

CHAPTER XI.

BASEL—ENGLAND FOR THE FOURTH TIME.

It is evident that Erasmus was disappointed with his third visit to England, and was only waiting for a convenient excuse to get away. That excuse was soon offered. From visitors from the Continent he learned that the work to which he had been devoting his spare time and money—the editing of Jerome—was already in progress in Froben's printing-office in Basel. This high-minded printer and his friend and first employer, Amerbach, had gathered around them a company of laborious students, who were attacking the restoration of the text of Jerome with the zeal and learning which ruled in the Basel press. As soon as Erasmus heard of this, he had only one thought,—to get to Basel and offer his manuscripts to Froben, and be accepted as a co-worker, and perhaps leader, in the work on Jerome. Therefore, about the first of July, 1514, Erasmus crossed the Channel, and was soon resting in the hospitable castle of his patron, Mountjoy, at Hammes.

It was here that he wrote his famous epistle

to the prior of his old convent at Stein, Servatius, in which he gives his justification for not going back to the monastic life. This epistle was not included in the collection of Erasmus's letters published during his lifetime, and for this reason, and from the fact that it has some misstatements, its authenticity has been by some questioned, or even rejected, but, I think, without sufficient reason. It is a letter which Erasmus might not care to have spread abroad. As he was allowed by the Church authorities quietly to do his literary work when and where he chose, he would naturally not care to trouble them with elaborate vindications of his freedom. As to one or two discrepancies, Erasmus was not accustomed to speak with mathematical precision, and when he had some good purpose to serve for himself, he was not at all above equivocation or exaggeration. The lofty aim of his life—to serve Good Learning, to bless the Church by opposing her obscurantism and corruption—to this he devoted himself with relentless industry through evil report and good, through sickness, pain, and health, to the last. But to keep his liberty for this he would not at all hesitate to deviate from the strict truth on personal or other matters which he considered, or affected to consider, more or less trivial.

He tells Servatius that he was unfit for the monastic life on account of body and mind,—body, because he could not stand its fastings and interruptions of sleep; and in mind, because he shrank

from ceremonies and was fond of liberty. The monastic life might have been made, perhaps, a spiritual blessing to him if he had had a "suitable director, whose religion was Christianity and not a Jewish superstition." Outside he has been able to "pass his time with men who really savor of Christ, and by whose conversation I have become a better man." He has also been able to do some little good by his books. "Whenever I have thought of rejoining your society, I have been reminded of the jealousy of many, the contempt of all; of conversation how cold, how silly, how utterly without any savor of Christ; of feasts how secular; in fact, of a whole system of life, in which if you take away what they call the ceremonies, I know not what is left that one would choose." Besides, he has the serious and fatal disease of the stone (gravel, a disease contracted in Venice, and which followed him through life), and has to be very careful as to food and climate, and can only drink certain kinds of wine, "I know the Dutch climate; I know your mode of living, not to speak of morals. As to the happiness of dying among our brethren, that argument does not impose on me. We rest our religion [he is speaking of monasticism, which was called a Religion or the Religious Life] upon place, dress, food, or some trifling ceremonies. We think it is all over with one who changes a white cowl for a black, wears a hat instead of a cowl, or occasionally shifts his locality. I venture to say that the greatest

bane of Christian piety has arisen out of these so-called religions, although it was perhaps a pious zeal which first introduced them. The authority of popes, often too easy and indulgent, has come to their aid. For what is more foul or more impious than these religions when they are lax? And if you turn to those orders that are most commended, I know not what image of Christ you will find, unless you can so regard some cold Jewish ordinances. It is on these they pride themselves and pride others. How much more in accordance with the sentiment of Christ to regard the whole world as one household, as it were one convent, to think of all mankind as our brethren and fellow-canons, to hold the sacrament of baptism as the highest order of religion, and not to look where a man lives, but how well he lives."

Erasmus then refers to the eminent men who are his patrons and friends, and to his college and literary work. "I spent several months [two years] in Cambridge teaching Greek and Divinity [New Testament Greek] and without remuneration [proportionately to what he considered his merits; he sold his services dear, and was given a salary, though apparently irregularly and partially paid], and so have resolved always to do. There are colleges [in England] in which there is so much religion and such a well-regulated mode of living, that if you saw it, you would think less of any monastic rule. A word about my books. I think you have

read 'Enchiridion,' by which not a few have been inflamed to a love of piety. I claim no merit of my own, but rejoice with Christ if by His gift through me any good has been done. I do not know whether you have seen the book of 'Adages,' as it has been printed by Aldus. It is not a theological work, but one that is useful for every branch of living, and cost me incalculable nights of toil. I have published a book on copiousness of matter and language, which I dedicated to my friend Colet,—a useful work for persons preparing to preach, though such studies are scorned by those who despise all good letters. During the last two years [he was writing in July, 1514], besides other employments, I have corrected the Epistles of Jerome, distinguishing with dagger-marks the spurious additions, and illustrating the obscure passages with notes. I have also corrected the New Testament from the collection of ancient Greek manuscripts, and annotated more than a thousand places, not without profit to theologians. I have begun a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, which I shall finish when I have published what I have already mentioned; for I have resolved to give up my life to sacred literature. I have associated with many grave and learned persons, both here and in Italy and France, and have never found any one who advised me to return to you, or considered that to be the better course." He then refers to the change in his monastic dress, gives the Bologna anecdote

mentioned above, but adds the interesting fact that when he went to England his wearing such a dress excited prejudice and opposition. "I put away the religious habit in Italy to save me from being killed, and in England because it was not tolerated there."

On his way to Basel Erasmus had Matthias Schürer, the printer in Strasburg, put out a revised edition of his useful little work, "De Ratione Studii," 1514. He arrived in Basel in September, 1514, and was put up at the house of Lachner, the father-in-law of Froben. The latter came to Basel as a young man to work in the printing-office of Amerbach, and afterwards established one of his own, later united with that of Amerbach. The first book from Froben's press is a Latin Bible in fine black-letter, 1491. Amerbach had won fame by printing the works of Augustine in nine volumes (1506), the first important work printed in Roman type north of the Alps. Froben died on Christmas day, 1513, but his sons resolved to carry through his dear and long-cherished project of an edition of the works of Jerome, about which he had corresponded with the famous Hebrew scholar, Reuchlin, and in which he had received the encouragement or assistance of Beatus Rhenanus, Cono (Kühn), and other earnest scholars. Erasmus was cordially welcomed into this circle, and with noble lack of jealousy made the chief one in it, as he says, September 23, 1514, "Jerome is in hand, and is soon to be printed with our annotations."

An illustration of the renown which Erasmus enjoyed in Germany is given by the letter of Zasius, professor of law in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau. "I must now tell you that honeyed letter of yours is passed round our whole university, and is sought for by all our scholars, who admire the inspiration of Roterodamus, and the fire which he has brought down from heaven; while Zasius is of great account, and is pointed at the man to whom Roterodamus—to whom the Cicero of Germany and of our age—has written in such friendly terms."

Besides a new edition of the "Copia," a book entitled "Parabolæ sive Similia" was published by Schürer in Strasburg in 1514. It is a collection of figures of speech and other like linguistic riches which he had gathered in his classical studies. It is a contribution toward elegance of language. "I was convinced that not only brilliancy, but almost the whole dignity of speech, proceeds from metaphors. For the parable, which Cicero calls collocatio, is nothing but an expanded metaphor." In the same year he edited and enlarged a collection of moral precepts, "Catonis Disticha Moralia," a number of advices generally in dactylic hexameters, and a book which had an immense vogue in the Middle Ages. Erasmus's edition (he proposed first to have it circulated by transcription, but found difficulty in getting copyists, and it was published in Louvain in 1515) was reprinted in countless edi-

tions by booksellers of the Continent and England. He translated, in 1514, Lucian's "Saturnalia" for Warham ("an amusing book, which you may seasonably take up when you are inclined to laugh"), and published, with other of his translations from the same author, by Bade, in Paris, in 1514.

Erasmus remained in Basel till March, 1515, busy with correcting the texts of Jerome, of the Greek Testament, and of Seneca ("I suppose I have struck out about four thousand mistakes from Seneca alone"). He says that Seneca was so esteemed by Jerome that he is the only non-Christian writer whom that Father deemed worthy to be read by Christians. Nothing is more holy than his precepts, and he recommends virtue with so much warmth that one can not but believe him to have practiced what he taught. After Erasmus left Basel, the work on Seneca was continued by Froben and his assistants, and was brought out in 1515.

Jerome was one of the darling projects of Erasmus. To restore the true text; to let him once more speak against the despisers of learning (for he had to meet the same opposition as did Erasmus and his compeers); to worthily set him forth and illuminate him,—that was an ambition worthy of an Erasmus. He writes from England, whither he went from Basel, to Cardinal Grimani in Rome (March 3, 1515), that he regards Jerome as "our greatest Latin theologian, almost our only one; but whose works are so corrupted that, while there is

no other author equally worth reading, he is the only one of all others that can not be read, still less understood." He has arranged his work in order, especially his Epistles, which was a most laborious task, has studied the old manuscripts for the true text, and has added annotations. He has restored the Greek passages with care and (by the help of the brothers Amerbach) the Hebrew, and the spurious books he has put together at the end. Froben's "huge workshop is kept in a glow, while St. Jerome is being reproduced in a most elegant type, at such an expense of money and labor that it cost the author less to write his works than it has cost us to restore them. The work has been so great that I have almost died in endeavoring to bring Jerome to life again." He thought the work would number ten volumes.

Erasmus was in doubt whether to dedicate his Jerome to Warham or to Pope Leo X. Finally he concluded to ask the pope's permission to allow this great work to go out under the patronage of His Holiness himself. For this purpose he wrote to the pope (from London, April 29, 1515). How he praises Jerome! "What a fund in him of Roman eloquence; what skill in languages; what a retentive memory; what a perfect familiarity with mystic literature; above all, what zeal, what a wonderful inspiration of the divine breath! He is the one person who at the same time delights by his eloquence, teaches by his erudition, and ravishes by

his holiness." Unstinted praise is given to the co-laborers in this great edition, to Reuchlin, "who is almost equally skilled in the three languages, and withal so versed in every branch of learning as to be a match for the greatest professors;" to Kühn of Nuremberg, whose intimate knowledge of Greek is equaled by his indefatigable industry, and to Beatus Rhenanus, a young man who combines learning with critical judgment. "I should add that our most important assistants are the brothers Amerbach, at whose cost and by whose exertions in concert with Froben the work is mainly carried on. Indeed, one may well believe that this family has been raised up by the Fates themselves to be the means of bringing Jerome back to life. Their father, the best of men, had his three sons instructed in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, for the purpose; and when he died he bequeathed it to his children as a sort of hereditary study, dedicating what fortune he had left to its fulfillment. These young men are diligently discharging the commission imposed on them by their father."

The favor of Leo is then asked. "The glory of Leo is incomparably brilliant; and yet, if I am not mistaken no small accession shall accrue to it if so rare, so important, so noble a work shall come to light under the protection of your auspicious name. It appears to be truly appropriate that all good letters, the nurslings of peace, should flourish by means of that pontiff by whom peace and leisure

have been given to the world. It will be truly fitting that the first Doctor of the Christian religion should be dedicated to its highest prelate, and the best of all theologians recommended by the title of the best of all popes."

In the meantime, without waiting for a reply, Erasmus hurried off to Basel, June, 1515, where he remained till the following December. Leo replied most favorably, accepting the dedication of both books (Jerome and New Testament). "The bishop of Worcester has written to me," says Ammonius, one of Erasmus's London friends, "that Leo was wonderfully cheered by your letter, and inquired with much interest where you were, what you were about, and whether the bishop thought you would be willing to come to him, with many other signs of affectionate regard for you; and that he afterward turned to some very learned and eminent persons who happened to be by, and handed them your letter, adding his own opinion of your rare genius and learning; and thereupon they all vied with each other which should praise you most."

The Jerome appeared in April or May, 1516. It was dedicated to Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, his ever-faithful patron. In the dedicatory epistle he prays that princes may be disposed to turn their attention from war to the arts of peace and to the encouragement of the learned. "Then we should see in all the world what within these few years has taken place in England; a country which,

as it has long shown its power by its men and its resources, has lately become so civilized and flourishing in religion, in justice, in refinement of life, and finally in every kind of ancient learning—and that in a great degree by your influence—that this remote island may supply an incentive to the highest efforts to the most cultivated regions of the world."

Erasmus's Jerome (9 vols., Basel, 1516-20) was his greatest achievement in patristics. In it was focused all the light of the scholarship of that time, furnished by the diligent labors of that noble coterie of self-denying men who bent over their rolls and folios in the workshop of Froben. It has the imperfections of a first work. "His Jerome is full of sad blunders," said J. Scaliger. Erasmus was not a scholar in the sense of the Mauriner Benedictines, not to speak of the men now at work on the Fathers under the Berlin and Vienna Academies. His Jerome was superseded by Bishop Victorius's in Rome, forty-five years after his last volume was published, by Martianay and Pouget, of St. Maur, in Paris, 1693-1706; and by Vallarsi, 1734-42, and later; but still Riefferscheid says that the text of Jerome is greatly corrupted by neglect, and the manuscript tradition imperfectly known.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT.

"THE New Testament has been hurried out headlong, rather than edited, so that certainly in this kind of performance we have surpassed all that have gone on before us." So Erasmus writes in April, 1516. He had been working on this for years. "I have done the collation of the New Testament," he writes from Cambridge, July, 1512, "and am now attacking St. Jerome." "I have corrected the New Testament from the collection of ancient Greek manuscripts, and annotated in more than a thousand places, not without profit to theologians," July, 1514. "We have written annotations on the entire New Testament. It is accordingly our intention to print the New Testament in Greek, with our notes added," August, 1514. "I am being killed by work. I have a friend to help me with the Hebrew. The size of the book will amount to nearly eighty folios. I have determined to dedicate it to Leo X," December, 1515. And so he did, the dedication being dated February 1, 1516, and the publication following immediately, and before the Jerome.

It was received with applause by all the en-

lightened spirits of the time. Ammonius, Latin secretary to the English king and Canon of St. Stephens, wrote to him a few days before it was published: "With your New Testament I am delighted, and give you joy of it. In my opinion, it is not only a most religious work, but one which demands the attention of every one, full of mind and learning, worthy of you and of the pontiff to whom you have determined to dedicate it. All honor to your genius. You have found a way to immortality." "The New Testament is approved," wrote Erasmus to More, "even by those whom I thought most likely to find fault; the leading theologians like it very much." "The prior of Freiburg, when he had first tasted the work said he had rather part with two hundred florins than with that book. Louis Bere, a divine of Paris, a person of the first rank in that 'promotion,' as they call it, kisses and adores it, and laments the loss of so many years in those scholastic squabbles. Capito, public preacher in Basel, an excellent Hebrew scholar, well practiced in the theological arena, is of the same opinion. Both of these are diligent students of Greek." (Erasmus to Fisher, June 5, 1516). Count Nuenar wrote from Cologne to Erasmus: "Your New Testament has my approval, as it has that of all good men. Would that the whole Bible, translated in the same way, were in our hands." Dr. Henry Bullock, Fellow of the Queen's College, Cambridge, where Erasmus had once re-

sided, probably a former pupil, addresses him from that town in enthusiastic terms (August 13, 1516): "People here are hard at work upon Greek, and earnestly hope for your arrival. The same set are much delighted with your New Testament. Good heavens! how elegant it is, how clever, how charming to every person of sound taste, and how much required!" "Your new edition," says Colet from London, June 20, 1516, "is bought with avidity, and read everywhere here. There are many that approve and admire your studies, others that disapprove and find fault." He says he is full of sorrow that he has not learned Greek, without which we are nothing.

In a letter to Leo, August 8, 1516, Erasmus explains his object: "We do not intend to tear up the old and commonly accepted edition (the Latin Vulgate), but amend it where it is corrupt, and make it clear where it is obscure; and this not by the dreams of my own mind, nor, as they say, with unwashed hands, but partly by the evidence of the earliest manuscripts, and partly by the opinion of those whose learning and sanctity have been confirmed by the authority of the Church,—I mean Jerome, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Cyril. Meanwhile we are always prepared either to give our reasons without presumption for anything we have rightly taught, or to correct without grudging any passage where, as men, we have unwillingly fallen into error."

But all did not welcome the Greek New Testament with open arms. The Vulgate had been the Church's version for centuries. From it she had read in public service; from it she had quoted in her breviaries; from it she had defended her dogmas; it had helped to externalize and legalize her theology; it had become a part of her proclamation, and the appeal from it to the Greek text seemed like the abandonment of a cherished mainstay. Remember the offense taken by many well-meaning people at the publication of the Revised New Testament in 1881, and deal gently, reader, with the conservatives of 1516. One of the best of these was the Louvain professor, Dorpius, who, in 1514, remonstrated with Erasmus on his "Praise of Folly" and on his New Testament. "You are proposing to correct the Latin copies by the Greek. But if I show that the Latin version has no mixture of falsehood or mistake, will you not admit that such a work is unnecessary? But this is what I claim for the Vulgate, since it is unreasonable to suppose that the universal Church has been in error for so many generations in her use of this edition; nor is it probable that so many holy Fathers have been mistaken, who, in reliance upon it, have defined the most arduous questions in General Councils, which, it is admitted by most theologians as well as lawyers, are not subject to error in matters of faith. What if some new necessity should demand a new General Council. No doubt they would

follow this edition, and thus cut the knot concerning the Faith. [True prophet, Dorpius; that is just what the Council of Trent did]. Either it is to be supposed that the Fathers did rashly, that they had rashly followed this edition and interpretation, or that it is true and genuine. But what if the Greek books were better emended from the Latin."

Another Louvain professor, Latomus, published a pamphlet in which he maintained that a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was not necessary for the study of Scripture. Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, attacked Erasmus and his Testament for various reasons. A learned Spaniard, Stunica, defended the Vulgate, and bitterly attacked Erasmus for his ignorance of the Scriptures, of the Greek, and of the Fathers, and pointed out errors into which he had fallen. Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph (Bishop of St. Ass, Erasmus calls him), preached a sermon in St. Paul's Churchyard in which he made a furious attack upon Erasmus. He declared that the Christian religion would be ruined unless all new translations were abolished.

It must be confessed that Erasmus had given pretext to these alarmists. Outside of his printing of the Greek text (as if, forsooth, the sacred text of centuries was not sufficient!), he had published in columns parallel to it a new Latin translation, and notes which did not always have sufficient regard for the thin skins of traditionalists. In fact,

it might be almost said that he went out of his way to offend them. Von Bezold indorses the remark of one of Erasmus's biographers to the effect that the "Praise of Folly" is only another change of dress for the "Enchiridion," and that the notes on the New Testament are only an earnest translation of that satire. Let us give some instances of his frank dealing.

On Matthew xvi, 18, he denies the exclusive papal sense. In his second edition he allows that the words apply to the pope first of all, seeing that he is the head of the Christian Church; but they apply not only to him, but to all Christians. Matthew xvii, 5: "Christ is the only teacher who has been appointed by God himself. Such authority has been committed to no theologian, to no bishop, to no pope or prince. (This contradicts all Catholic teaching, Roman or Anglican.) Not that we ought not to obey them, but we ought to obey Christ first of all." Matthew xxiii, 5: "On this passage Jerome condemns the superstition of certain women, who, like the Pharisees with their phylacteries, used to carry about little copies of the Gospel, and pieces of wood of the true cross, and other things of the same kind, which, he says, have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. If that most holy man had such sentiments in regard to weak women, who might fairly have claimed some indulgence, what would he say were he to return to the world now, and see Mary's milk

exhibited in our Churches for money, and almost as much honor paid to it as to the consecrated body of Christ; miraculous oil and fragments of the true cross in such quantities that, if they could be brought together, it would take a merchant vessel to hold them all; if he were to see Francis's hood exhibited at one altar, and the Virgin Mary's shift at another; in one Church, Anna's comb; in another Joseph's boot; in another, Thomas of Canterbury's slipper; in another" [something not to be mentioned]. Acts ix. 43: "How great a guest—the very chief of the apostles—to lodge with so humble an entertainer! In our days three royal palaces scarce suffice to receive Peter's vicar." 1. Cor. ix, 18: "That was a boast truly worthy of an apostle, but one which no one in our days is ambitious of making. You can not even get buried without cost." He does not mince matters in regard to the state of priesthood and monks. On Matthew xix, 12, he speaks of that class who either by "art or by fear are forced into celibacy, who are permitted to associate with harlots (*ut scortari liceat*), but are not permitted to have a wife. They may freely own concubines (*profiteantur concubina*), and yet be Catholic priests. If they marry a wife they are thrown into the fire. In my view it would be more merciful for parents to castrate those whom they destine for celibacy than to throw them unwilling and unconscious into the furnace of lust." So on Eph. v, 4: "What kind of in-

elegance is that which pleases priests not a few, who love to corrupt everything, even openly the Song of Mary, the Magnificat, and the Te Deum; by changing the words they twist these songs to an offensive poison." On 1 Tim. iii, 2: The digamus (the man who has married more than once) was excluded from the episcopate by the ancient Church. But now no marriage at all is permitted. But, on the other hand, now the "unchaste is admitted; so is the homicide, the pirate, the sodomite, the sacrilegious, the parricide, but then only the digamus was excluded from this honor. It is wonderful what things we press and hold as even fatal, and what we affect not to see. If any one weighs the state of the times he will see crowds of monks, as well as priests and clergy; then he will consider what few among a great number live a chaste life, into what kinds of lust innumerable sink down, in what disgrace many are openly impure and shameless; and then he will think that those who can not live continently should be free to marry publicly by law, and thus without evil report dwell purely and holily, rather than unhappily and basely wickedly. A few celibates may be clean, but very few (even of these) chaste; for he is not chaste who avoids venereal pleasures because it is not permitted. But I revere those pure ecclesiastics who to-day are truly pious."

The remark is sometimes made that the orders of monks offered a parallel to the different Churches

in Protestantism. According to Erasmus, in sectarian spirit the former set a good example to the latter. In his note on Matt. xxiv. 23, "Lo, Christ is here," he says: "We hear monks crying everywhere (I mean the superstitious, not the pious), Behold, Christ is here; but they do not agree among themselves. The Observants [strict Franciscans] say, He is not among the Coleti and Conventuals [liberal Franciscans], but is with them. The Jacobites [Dominicans] cry, Christ is here, but not among the Augustinians. Again the Benedictines cry, Christ is here, but not among the mendicants [the four orders of the so-called begging friars, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites]. But for priests who do not carry the Lord, Christ is not. Do not believe all these crying voices. Christ is not in external matters (*in rebus corporalibus*); Christ is nowhere except where there are affections worthy of Him. He can not be circumscribed in a place, nor included by human titles, or worship, or ceremonies. I do not condemn ceremonies which lead to piety, but I condemn a dividing and superstitious trust."

Erasmus gives a lively picture of singing in the Churches and the degradation it has suffered in his time. On 1 Cor. xiv. 19: "In not a few regions they chant in an unknown tongue the whole day, which is neither the method nor the end of singing, while hardly in six months will you hear a sermon urging to true piety. The music is of such a kind

that in divine worship it is not permitted to hear a simple clear word [as in some Protestant Churches to-day]. The common run of priests and monks make the sum of religion in these things, much differing from Paul. Why should not the Church follow such an author? What does one hear now in monasteries, colleges, temples, almost everywhere, except the noise of voices. In Paul's time there was no singing, only speaking out (*pronunciatio*). What do they think of Christ who imagine He is pleased with such strident noises. We bring artfully constructed and theatrical music in the Church, the tumultuous and diverse chattering of voices such as I do not believe was ever heard in Greek and Roman theaters. We make a great noise with trumpets, cornets, pipes, and shrill triangular stringed instruments, while with these contend the voices of men. Amatory, filthy songs are heard, to which harlots dance in a mime. People rush together into the church as into a theater to have their ears tickled. Thus money must be raised for the great tribute of organs, for crowds of boys, of whom every age is used up in thoroughly learning these yelpings. In the meantime nothing good is learned. A contemptible lot of sordid, light-minded men, of whom many are Dionysiacs [Corybantes, Bacchus dancers]. The Church is burdened with so much cost on account of this pernicious thing."

Over against some of the synods of the Middle Ages which forbade Bible reading to the laity,

Erasmus, in his preface or exhortation in his New Testament, demanded the widest use of the Scriptures. They must be translated into the common language of men. He says the women, as well as men, should read the Gospels and Pauline Epistles,—the peasant in the field, the worker in the shop, the wayfarer on the street, should shorten the time with Biblical verses and citations. He says it is a miserable thing that thousands of educated Christians have never read the New Testament in their whole life. Of course, we must not conclude from this, with Froude, that the Bible was practically unknown. As Professor Karl Pearson says, to talk of the Bible being now revealed for the first time is a myth. There were one hundred and fifty editions of the Latin Vulgate before Luther. Some of the mediæval Fathers were saturated through and through with the Bible, as any one who has read Thomas Aquinas, for instance, knows. But for all that, Erasmus's insistence on the popular right in the New Testament was new, his fresh attitude to the traditional text was new, and the systematic way in which he hung upon the text, as on a gibbet, the deviating practices of the Church was new, and Froude *is* thoroughly right when he says (page 120): "For the first time the laity were able to see side by side the Christianity which converted the world and the Christianity of the Church with a Borgia pope, cardinal princes, ecclesiastical courts, and a mythology of lies." But the Church

which reared Erasmus and allowed him to do this was not all lies.

It would be ungracious to point out the sad defects of Erasmus's Greek text from the standpoint of our knowledge to-day. But the fact that his later editions were really at the bottom of the text on which our so-called Authorized Version is based (a version still clung to by the Church in spite of its gross inaccuracies), makes it obligatory to show what kind of an apparatus Erasmus worked with. For the Gospels he used an inferior Basel manuscript of the fifteenth century, and one of the thirteenth or fourteenth century in the Acts and Epistles. With these he collated for the Gospels one other manuscript, for Acts and Catholic Epistles two, and three in Pauline Epistles. The oldest of these (tenth century) has a good text of the Gospels, but was little used. The others are modern and poor. For the Revelation he had one text of the twelfth century. In some cases he followed the Vulgate instead of his texts. "The result of the whole is that in more than twenty places the Greek of the *textus receptus*, which is derived ultimately, in the main, from the fourth edition of Erasmus, is supported by the authority of no known Greek manuscript whatever." The first edition was hurried through the press with headlong speed to get ahead of the Complutensian Polyglot of the learned Cardinal Ximenes, which began to be printed in Alcala, Spain, two years before Erasmus's work

came off the press, but was not published until 1521 or '22. A more correct edition of the Basel work appeared in 1519, which used one additional manuscript; a third in 1522, which introduced the spurious 1 John v, 7, from a sixteenth-century text; a fourth in 1527, improved from the Polyglot; and a fifth, but little altered, the year before Erasmus died.

CHAPTER XIII.

A PIONEER OF PEACE.

In 1515 Erasmus was appointed counselor of Prince Charles, later Emperor Charles V, in connection with his Burgundian court. There was a salary in connection with this position, though the latter was largely, if not entirely, honorary, and required no duties of residence. Whether in view of some such offer as this, or simply to benefit his patron, he prepared a book on the education of a prince ("Institutio Principis Christiani"), which was published by Froben in 1516, accompanied by a translation of Isocrates's "De Regno Administrando," of Plutarch's "Difference Between a Flatterer and a Friend," and his "Use that May be Made of Enemies." Erasmus's "Prince" is one of the noblest utterances of the kind. While it is founded on a monarchical conception of the State, and so makes the people's weal depend on the prince's favor, it was the only conception of which Erasmus had any practical knowledge, and he carried it out with fine regard for the rights of the people and the duties of the king. It is interesting to compare it with the more famous contemporary "Il Principe"

of Machiavelli (written before 1513, published 1532, after the author's death). Machiavelli believed thoroughly in wise, just, and, if possible, merciful government; but he believed that the tyranny of the Medici was necessary to Florence's welfare to save it from worse tyranny of others; and in order to keep their supremacy he thought any measures justifiable. The fundamental thought of Machiavelli is, that people are essentially ungovernable, untrustworthy, bad, and must be treated accordingly. "It may be said of mankind in general that they are ungrateful, fickle, timid, dissembling, self-interested; as long as you can serve them, they are devoted to you, but in the day of need they turn their back upon you." "The generality of mankind are wicked, and ever ready to break their word." The tuition of the Latin peoples under the Roman Church during the centuries had brought this result; for doubtless Machiavelli knew what he was talking about. Therefore the prince must meet craft with craft and wickedness with wickedness. "His self-preservation will often compel him to violate the laws of charity, religion, and humanity. It will be useful for him to persevere in the path of rectitude while he feels no inconvenience in doing so, and to deviate from it when circumstances dictate." Pope Alexander VI played the game of deception to perfection, says Machiavelli. This was because he "understood well this chapter in the art of government." For a "prudent

prince can not and ought not to keep his word except when he can do it without injury to himself."

When we turn to the "Prince" of Erasmus we are in another world. Through its pages breathes a Teutonic spirit, still Catholic, of course, but always half Protestant; a moral strenuousness, the spirit which says, "Right is right, since God is God," and monarchs are as much under the law as their subjects. The prince must do his duty as a man, under God; must do it simply because it is right, and because it tends to the welfare of his subjects, whose good he must always seek. He should not seek to exploit his people, but govern without expense to them. He should despise making his office a means of money-getting. He should avoid all unnecessary expense, journeys that are like wars, check the greed of officials, and enforce frugality. If taxation is necessary—a contingency to be avoided, if at all possible—then let the least burden fall upon those who have the least. When the emergency is passed, then the burden ought to be taken off, and the outlay of the former period made good. Too great inequality in wealth is to be avoided. The wealth of the community must not be limited to a few. Plato would have his citizens neither too rich nor too poor, because the poor man can not profit the State, and the rich man does not want to profit it. Besides, a great part of the taxes slip through the hand of col-

lectors. When taxes are necessary they should be laid upon luxuries, not upon things in common use, such as wheat, sugar, bread, salt, and clothing. But even these things are burdened, not only by taxes, but by the exactions of contractors, by duties which are also managed by contractors, and finally by monopolies,—all of which profit the prince but little, but crush the poor by higher prices. If duties are necessary, let them fall upon the costlier wares used by the rich, such as silks, purple, perfumes, unguents, gems.

These were some of the reasonable and humane proposals of the sagacious student, who knew men and the times as well as books, and whose mind, as Emerton says, was working upon matters of large public import as well as upon matters of scholarship. He was far ahead of his times then, and we are behind his ideal now, with our robber tariffs and our huge monopolies building up our multi-millionaires, and creating conditions which have in them the seed-plots of revolutions. These tariffs are partly the result of that crime of the ages, war, which kills the producers, burdens the innocent, and generally leaves untouched the leaders guilty of precipitating it. And in his "Prince" Erasmus shows that war was often both unreasonable and unnecessary. Because a prince is offended by some foreign power, what is that to the people as a whole? A good prince measures everything by *the advantage to the people.* A war over a

great public vital interest is one thing, but a war over the so-called "right" of the king may be the injury of the people. "And what safety is there now, where every one is pursuing his right to the death?" One war leads to another until there is no end. Nothing is accomplished in that way.

In his other writings Erasmus shows how thoroughly the unreason and horror of war come home to him. It was a favorite topic with him. "Consider how many crimes," he says, "are committed under pretext of war. In the midst of armies, laws are silent. How many abuses, thefts, rapes, acts of sacrilege! And this moral contagion lasts even when the war is over. And if you conquer, you lose more than you gain. What kingdom can you set against the lives of so many thousands? And yet the greatest amount of mischief affects those who have no part in the fighting. The advantages of peace reach everybody; while in war even the conqueror weeps; and it is followed by such a train of calamities that the poets say well when they represent war as coming from hell and sent by the furies. Peace builds up, war pulls down. It is the people that build cities, it is the folly of princes that destroys them. If gain is our object, no war was ever waged that did not bring more evil than good, and even the victor damages fearfully his own subjects. But you say the rights of sovereigns must be maintained. I only know this, that extreme right *(summum jus)* is often extreme

wrong *(summa injuria)*. There are princes who first decide what they want, and then look out for a title with which to cloak their proceedings. It is generally the private interests of princes which give occasion to war. O, the amusements of Christian princes! Thus we turn everything upside-down, and yet think ourselves Christians. When shall the general utility alone be regarded?"

I wish I had space to quote the passages I have marked in which Erasmus wars upon war. But he did not leave the matter here. He suggested a way out. "If some dissension arise between princes, why not resort to arbiters?" "There are so many bishops, so many abbots, scholars, serious magistrates, by whose judgment such a matter might far more decently be composed than by so much murder, pillage, and misfortune throughout the world." He says elsewhere that there are popes, cardinals, bishops, and it is the proper function of these to compose the quarrels of Christian princes. There was nothing specially new in this idea of arbitration. The Amphictyonic Council was such a board. In the mediæval times popes and prelates were frequently called upon to act as arbitrators, a famous case being the question of the boundary between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the New World, referred to Pope Alexander VI, in 1493. But to have a great scholar, early and late, in season and out, cry out against war, denounce it with bitter and earnest words,

and suggest a plan of avoiding it,—that was something new, and places Erasmus on a pedestal by himself among the benefactors of mankind. No man of his age took up his cry. The Protestant reformers did a great work, but they did not anticipate, as Erasmus did, the Peace Movement of the nineteenth century and the Hague Peace Conference of 1889 and 1907. Marsiglio, of Padua's "Defensor Pacis" (about 1325) marked a new era in the history of man, but, with all its noble generalizations and far-seeing anticipations, it did not fight war, as its title might indicate, nor point a way out of its tragedies. Over a hundred years after the "Prince," the great lawyer, Grotius, published his "De Jure Belli et Pacis" (1625), which was rather an effort—the first one at that—to put reason and humanity into the rules of war than to abolish its horrors.

In this period of Erasmus's life (1516) Nichols places his celebrated letter to Grunnius, written while on a visit to Fisher of Rochester, in which he gives an entertaining and frank account of his own monastic life under the guise of the history of Florentius. Vischer claims that this was written long after for public effect; but I think Max Reich adequately answers Vischer's objections. It contains an actual history of Erasmus, as we are able to confirm much of it from his other writings; but it may be somewhat idealized or touched up for the sake of effect. But Erasmus was willing to

stand for it, as he published it in his Epistles, 1529. The main facts of the letter which bear on Erasmus's life have already been given; but a few points on other matters from this outspoken portrayal will interest the reader.

He says monastic vows are not found in the Old Testament or in the New. As even the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, much more ought human constitutions give way when they impede the welfare of man,—a consideration commended to those in our own Churches who are sticklers for rules, ceremonies, forms. As to the moral condition of monasteries, he says that in many of them there is an utter absence of discipline, and that houses of ill-fame are well conducted in comparison. In others there is no religion except ceremonies and show. These latter monasteries are almost worse than the former, because, while lacking the spirit of Christ, the monks have great conceit of themselves by reason of these Pharisaical observances, besides beating boys to death every day on account of these ceremonies. Even if a convent is in good condition, you have no guarantee that the next head may not be stupid, drunken, and tyrannical. Most of the young members are enticed by fraud, and find themselves under bondage to a Pharisaical religion. So they become discontented. To cure this, to prevent any exposure of their orgies, and to keep their members, the monastic authorities have recourse to floggings, to

curses, to walls, to prisons, even to death. "I pledge my word that Matthew, Cardinal of Sion, at a great dinner, in the hearing of a number of people, mentioned by name the place, the persons, and the monastery in which a society of Dominicans buried alive a young man who had been induced to join them by stealth, and whose release was demanded with threats by his father, a person of knightly rank. There was another case in Poland, in which a nobleman who had fallen asleep in a church, probably after a full supper, saw two Franciscans buried alive after the midnight service." "The papal authority granting the monks coercive privileges is respected; but when the same authority relieves any one of the religious habit the bull is torn up. They boast of Benedict, Basil, Jerome, Augustine, Dominic, Francis, Bruno; but if they will examine these founders, they will find that their purpose was carried out by example, wholesome teaching, friendly counsel, brotherly remonstrance. He who is not reformed by these means is expelled. The monk who is a slave to his appetites, who is intimate with women both secretly and openly, who squanders the Church's money, who deals in sorcery, is promoted to an abbacy, while he who lays aside his dress is execrated as an apostate, forgetting that the true apostates are the godless monks, who are everywhere. If the religious orders are plainly corrupt, as most of them are, what else do they do but drag a boy to perdition! If they are neither

hot nor cold, in what wretched bondage do they entangle him! But I do not battle with the orders as such. This or that calling may be expedient or necessary for this person or that, and even a lifelong engagement may be allowed. The more arduous the profession, the more circumspectly and late it should be entered; in the monastic orders, not later than the fortieth year."

Since Erasmus's day the Roman Church has greatly mitigated the matter of monasteries. She has raised the age of entrance, lengthened the probation, and made much wider the door of exit.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHAT DID ERASMUS THINK OF LUTHER?

"He will increase, but I shall decrease," might have been the words of our scholar when the mighty personality of Luther came upon the scene. That personality has so filled the period that lesser lights, as worthy of attention in some respects as he, have been neglected. But on account of Luther's work he has been subjected to a criticism harsher, more minute, more relentless, than has probably ever been given to any public man in Church or State. And whereas, in the case of many, criticism dies with their death, or at least becomes milder, or more considerate, or more scientific, in his case it burns ever fiercer with the passing centuries. The latest onset by the learned Dominican Denifle is perhaps the most elaborate, the most bitter attack which has ever fallen on Luther's devoted head. And while Denifle's book throws much light on some mediæval matters which Luther exaggerated or misrepresented, in its totality, as a judgment of Luther's character and work, it is an appalling calumniation.

And because it has been received by acclaim, even by Episcopalians of the High school, and because its author received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Cambridge, England, as a recognition of this and other works (being on his way to receive the degree when he was stricken with brain apoplexy at Munich, June 5, 1905, dying on the 10th), it may be worth while, outside of the intense interest and importance of the question, to stop a moment and ask, What was Erasmus's judgment of Luther? Did he think him the almost monster portrayed by so many Catholics? Or did he consider him a man with some serious faults, but, on the whole, a man of integrity of character and worthiness of aim? And Erasmus may be taken as not an unfair judge. He knew Luther and Luther's friends and enemies, and especially the enemies and all they said. As he was not a reactionary Catholic he was not blinded with hate, and as he was not a Protestant he was certainly not blinded with partiality. He may be looked upon, therefore, as perhaps as impartial a critic as those times afforded. Let us see, then, what Erasmus has to say. He wrote to Luther from Louvain, May 30, 1519:

"My Dearest Brother in Christ,—Your letter in which you show no less your truly Christian spirit than your great abilities, was extremely acceptable to me. I have no words to tell you what a sensation your writings have caused here. It is impos-

sible to eradicate from people's minds the utterly false suspicion that I have had a hand in them, and that I am the ringleader in this faction, as they call it. Some thought an opportunity had been given them of extinguishing literature, for which they cherish the most deadly hatred, because they are afraid it will cloud the majesty of their divinity, which many of them prize before Christianity. The evil weapons which they use are vociferation, rash assertion, tricks, detraction, and calumny. I have assured them I have never read your books, and that I therefore neither sanction nor condemn anything you have said. I have advised them not to bellow so fiercely in public before reading your books, especially when the author's life is universally well spoken of; but all to no purpose. You have friends in England, and among them men of the greatest eminence, who think most highly of your writings. Even here there are some who favor you. There is at Antwerp a prior of a monastery, a man of pure Christian life, who loves you immensely; he declares he was once a disciple of yours. He is almost the only one who preaches Christ; the rest generally preach either human fables or their own gain."

Drummond well says that this letter probably confirmed Luther in his belief that there was very little real accord between himself and Erasmus. In a letter to Wolsey, December 18, 1517, he gives the same testimony to Luther's reputation. "The

life of this man is universally praised. Even his enemies find nothing to condemn,"—the very time when Denifle says he was trying to find a pretext for giving away to his lusts.

On November 1, 1519, he wrote to Cardinal Archbishop Albrecht, of Mainz: "I do not see that any honest man takes the least offense at his writings. I say not that everything is assented to, but that he is read in the same spirit with which we read Cyprian or Jerome; that is, taking much with indulgence. I neither condemn nor vindicate him. Even his enemies praise him as an upright man. Finally, I believe it is Christian to wish Luther well in his way, that if he is innocent he should not be put down by the rabbles of the bad; but if he errs he should be put right, not destroyed. For that is more in accord with the pattern of Christ, who, as the prophet says, will not break the broken reed. I wish that every breast in which there is a spark of evangelical doctrine be not crushed, but instructed, and brought back fully to proclaim the honor of Christ." Truly a noble word.

To Melanchthon he wrote, May 22, 1519: "Everybody finds Luther's life blameless; concerning his doctrine there is a difference of opinion. While it becomes those learned in divine things to instruct, now it is quite otherwise; for they compel, they destroy, they wipe out. They wish that Luther be imprisoned and destroyed. They are more like hangmen than men instructed of God." In a letter

to Frederick of Saxony in the same year he praises Luther's life, and rebukes the persecuting spirit of his opponents. "I have taught about everything which Luther taught," he writes to Zwingli, "only not so passionately, and without riddles and paradoxes." In defending his letter of May 30, 1519, he says: "Paul treated false apostles with fairness; how much worse is it to rave against a man whose manner of life is praised by everybody, and in whose writings so many great men, so many learned, so many pious, take delight! They would wipe Luther out entirely, but they must first get him out of human hearts!"

With Luther's more radical stand, and the broadening of the cleft between him and the Roman Church, signified among other things by the bull of excommunication of June 15, 1520, Erasmus's attitude, of course, changed. All the more significant, therefore, is the absence of all Denifle spirit in his estimate of Luther's person. On the 6th of July, 1520, he writes to Spalatin: "I pray Christ the Highest will so direct Luther's pen and thought that he will bring forth much fruit for evangelical piety. I wish Luther would rest a little from these disputings, and simply pursue the course of the Gospel without passion; perhaps then there would be a better progress. But he burdens the beautiful sciences with an ill-will destructive to us and useless to him." This last charge refers, I take it, to the effect of his work on reactionaries, not to

Luther's own attitude toward good learning. After the bull against Luther had been published, a note of pity breathes through the words of our scholar. "Concerning Luther I shall say (what alone can be said with impunity under the present circumstances) that I am very sorry that such a spirit, who promised to be an excellent instrument in the further proclamation of evangelical truth, has been made bitter and virulent by the ready cries of certain people." (To Pirkheimer, September 5, 1520.) "I fear very much for poor Luther. From all sides the conspiracy thickens; from all sides the princes, and especially Pope Leo, are excited against him. Would God that Luther had followed my counsel, and kept himself free from these malicious and turbulent people! He would have had more fruit and less enemies." (September 9, 1520.) His judgment runs in this way for some time. In his book in his own defense against Hutten he is so impressed with Luther's bitterness that he is doubtful as to its source. "I can not convince myself that the spirit of Christ dwells in a breast where such bitterness bubbles out."

As the Lutheran party became more radical, especially as some who ranged themselves under its banner denied its Gospel by their lives, and peace and peaceful studies became endangered, Erasmus's judgment met bitterness with bitterness. The coarseness and extravagance of Luther's language was one cause for this change. He told the Bishop

of Basel as to a book of Luther's, that he should select the gold out of the dung-heap. His controversy with Luther, who did not mince matters in dealing with his opponents, brought the climax to this recrimination. In a letter of April 11, 1526, to Luther, he says that Luther has never written of any one in a more evil way than of himself; that he (Luther) had indulged in ridiculous slanders, lies, and has been the cause of a destructive schism. As to Luther's wish that God might give Erasmus a better mind, the latter replies: "I might wish thee a better mind if thy present mind did not please thee so well. Thou mayest wish for me what thou willest, only not thy mind, unless the Lord changes it." In a letter to another he says: "I have excited Luther, that wild boar, as he is called, against me. I who have always loved peace and quiet have been compelled to play gladiator; yes, to fight with wild beasts." So it seemed to thee, Erasmus. But didst thou not strike the first blow?

In this unlovely strife it is interesting to note that, though Erasmus gives Luther a Roland for his Oliver, his charges mostly concern Luther's controversial methods, and do not otherwise touch his character. In his defense of his treatise on "Free Will," put out February 20, 1526, he thinks Luther's calumniations of him are the offspring of hatred and anger. His passionateness has driven thousands from the Gospel. Erasmus accuses Luther of an immoderate inclination to slander, a

scurrilous wantonness in biting jokes and mockeries toward his opponents. "For we are not only compelled to miss in thee that spirit of Christ which thou so bravely assumest, but we see in thee a far different spirit, a Lucianic, or Aristophanic, or, if thou willest, an Archilochian. Thy writings show that two souls ride thee. While thou remindest us to trust in God, while thou designatest the powers of man as small, while thou praisest the majesty and authority of the Holy Scripture and rejectest everything human, thou speakest as if thy words proceeded from the spirit of the Gospel. But when thou beginnest to play thy comedy before thy applauders, thy pertness is so great, thy skill in revilings and witticisms so fine,—in all these things thou art so immoderate, while thou art so scanty in proof, that not even the fairest can excuse thy spirit. And in order the harder to wound, thou unitest to a certain cunning in abuse, tricks, and hints, so that thou besmearest thy sword with poison."

Now, when we remember that Luther called Erasmus an Epicurean, a Lucian, a blasphemer, or a secret Atheist, it is evident that Erasmus's replies were more moderate than might have been expected. They concern Luther's controversial style; and while that style reflects back, of course, upon Luther's character, it is evident that Erasmus had no personal charges to make in the way of Denifle and the Catholic calumniators. His earlier exculpation of Luther in matters of this kind he never

withdrew. On the other hand, the heartiest admirers of Luther have always acknowledged the faults (or some of them) referred to by Erasmus. They lie on the surface. Would that the methods of the literary battles of that age had died with the fighters!

CHAPTER XV.

THE COLLOQUIES.

About 1500 Erasmus began to write as Latin exercises for learners his "Colloquia Familiaria" (first published in 1518, then 1522, much enlarged 1526), the best beloved and most widely read of his own writings. As Froude says finely, they were the pictures of his own mind, pictures of men and things which show the hand of an artist in the highest sense, never spiteful, never malicious, always delightful and amusing, the finished photographs of the world in which he lived and moved. Here the people of that time step out before us and act their parts; bishops and abbots, monks and parsons, lords and commons, harlots, soldiers, quacks, courtiers, tavern-keepers,—they are all here, "the very image and mirror of the time." No book reveals the largeness of soul and the humanness of Erasmus as does this, his Shakespearean mind, and that genius by which he made everything to live that he touched. They are also the "happy evidence," says Froude, "that in the midst of his complaints and misgivings, his inner spirit was as lively and bright as ever, and that the existence of which

he professed to be weary was less clouded than he would have his friends believe,"—rather an evidence of that marvelous resilience and freshness of nature by which he could turn from conflicts with theologians to draw to the life the follies or virtues of the time, or puncture its evils with his light-flying arrows. "The best and brightest are his pictures of England. No one who has ever read them can forget his pilgrimage with Colet to Becket's tomb at Canterbury, with Colet's scornful snorts, or his visit with Aldrich, the master of Eton, to the home of Our Lady of Walsingham. In the whole collection there is nothing probably which he had not himself seen and heard, and the 'Colloquies,' which in their own day had an unbounded popularity, can still be read with delight in our own. Works of science and history, famous at their appearance, fall out of date, become insipid, and are forgotten. A genuine work of art [of which are some works in science and history] retains its flavor to the end of time."

I have space only to give the reader a taste of these unique dialogues. If he wants to know the world in which Erasmus lived let him read the "Colloquies" themselves in Johnson's edition of old Bailey; or if he has not time for that, in the little collection made by Professor Whitcomb, of the University of Cincinnati, for the historical publications of the University of Pennsylvania.

THE ABBOT AND THE LEARNED WOMAN.

Antronius. Magdalia.

Ant.—What sort of furnishings do I see about me?

Mag.—Is it not neat?

Ant.—How neat it is I can not tell, but I am sure it is not very becoming, either to matron or to maid.

Mag.—Why so?

Ant.—Because here are books lying about everywhere.

Mag.—And have you lived to this age, and are both an abbot and a courtier, and never saw any books in a lady's apartment?

Ant.—Yes, I have seen books, but they were French; but here I see Greek and Latin ones.

Mag.—Why, are there no other books but French ones that teach wisdom?

Ant.—But it becomes ladies to have something diverting to pass away their leisure hours.

Mag.—Must none but ladies be wise and live pleasantly?

Ant.—You very improperly connect being wise and living pleasantly. Women have nothing to do with wisdom. Pleasure is ladies' business.

Mag.—Ought not every one to live well?

Ant.—I am of the opinion that they ought to do so.

Mag.—Well, can anybody live a pleasant life that does not live a good life?

Ant.—Nay, rather, how can any one live a pleasant life that does not live a good life?

Mag.—But do you approve of living ill if it be but pleasantly?

Ant.—I am of the opinion that they live a good life who live a pleasant life.

Mag.—Well, but whence does that pleasure proceed? From outward things or from the mind?

Ant.—From outward things.

Mag.—O, subtle abbot, but thick-skulled philosopher! Pray tell me in what you suppose a pleasant life to consist?

Ant.—Why, in sleeping, and feasting, and liberty of doing what you please; in wealth and in honors.

Mag.—But suppose to all these things God should add wisdom; should you live pleasantly then?

Ant.—What is it that you call by the name of wisdom?

Mag.—This is wisdom: to know that a man is only happy by the goods of the mind. That wealth, honor, and descent neither make a man happier nor better.

Ant.—If that be wisdom, fare it well for me.

Mag.—Suppose now that I take more pleasure in reading a good author than you do in hunting, drinking, or gaming; do I not seem to you to live pleasantly?

Ant.—I would not live that kind of a life.

Mag.—I am not inquiring what you take most delight in, but what is it that we ought to be most delighted in?

Ant.—I would not have my monks pay much regard to books.

Mag.—But my husband approves of it. But what reason have you that you would not have your monks bookish?

Ant.—Because I find that they are not so obedient; they answer back out of the Decrees and Decretals, from Peter and from Paul.

Mag.—Why, then, do you command what is contrary to Peter and Paul?

Ant.—I do n't know what they teach; but I can not endure a monk that answers back, nor would I have any of my monks wiser than I am myself.

Mag.—You might prevent that well enough if you but exert yourself to get as much wisdom as you can.

Ant.—I have n't leisure.

Mag.—Why so?

Ant.—Because I have n't time.

Mag.—What! not leisure to be wise?

Ant.—No.

Mag.—Pray, what hinders you?

Ant.—Long prayers, the affairs of my household, hunting, my horses, and attendance at court.

Mag.—Well, do you think these things better than wisdom?

Ant.—Custom has made it so.

Mag.—Well, but answer me one thing: suppose God should grant you this power, to be able to turn yourself and your monks into any sort of animal that you had a mind; would you turn them into hogs and yourself into a horse?

Ant.—By no means.

Mag.—By doing so you might prevent any one of them from being wiser than yourself.

Ant.—It is not much matter to me what sort of men my monks are, if I am but a man myself.

Mag.—Well, do you look upon him as a man who neither has wisdom nor desires to have it?

Ant.—I am wise enough for myself.

Mag.—And so are hogs wise enough for themselves.

Ant.—You seem to be a kind of a sophistress, you argue so smartly.

Mag.—I won't tell you what you seem to be. But why does this rubbish displease you?

Ant.—Because the spindle and the distaff are woman's weapons.

Mag.—Is it not a woman's business to mind the affairs of her family and to instruct her children?

Ant.—Yes, it is.

Mag.—And do you think so weighty an office can be executed without wisdom?

Ant.—I believe not.

Mag.—This wisdom I learn from books.

Ant.—I have threescore and two monks in my cloister, and you will not see one book in my chamber.

Mag.—A pleasant outlook for the monks.

Ant.—I could endure books, but not Latin books.

Mag.—Why so?

Ant.—Because that tongue is not fit for women.

Mag.—I want to know the reason.

Ant.—Because it contributes nothing to the defense of chastity.

Mag.—Why, then, do French books that are stuffed with the most trifling stories contribute to chastity?

Ant.—But there is another reason.

Mag.—Let it be what it will, tell me plainly.

Ant.—They are more secure from priests, if they do n't understand Latin.

Mag.—Nay, there 's the least danger from that quarter, according to your way of working, because you take all the pains you can, not to know anything of Latin.

Ant.—Popular opinion is with me, because it is such a rare thing for a woman to understand Latin.

Mag.—Why do you tell me of popular opinion, which is the worst example in the world to be followed? What have I to do with custom, that is the mistress of all evil practices? We ought to accustom ourselves to the best things, and, by that means, that which is uncustomary would become habitual, and that which was unpleasant would become pleasant, and that which seemed unbecoming would look graceful.

Ant.—I hear you.

Mag.—Is it becoming a German woman to learn to speak French?

Ant.—Yes, it is.

Mag.—Why is it?

Ant.—Because she will then be able to converse with those who speak French.

Mag.—And why, then, is it unbecoming for me to learn Latin, that I may be able daily to have conversation with so many eloquent, learned, and wise authors, and faithful counselors?

Ant.—Books destroy the brains of women, who have little at the best.

Mag.—What quantity of brains you have left I can not tell; as for myself, let me have never so little, I had rather spend them in study than in prayers mumbled thoughtlessly, in all-night banquets, or in the draining of huge bumpers.

Ant.—Bookishness makes folks mad.

Mag.—And does not the chatter of your pot companions, your idlers, and your buffoons make you mad?

Ant.—No, they pass the time away.

Mag.—How can it be, then, that such pleasant companions should make me mad?

Ant.—That 's what they say.

Mag.—But I by experience find quite contrary. How many more do you see go mad by hard drinking, unreasonable feasting, and sitting up all night tippling, which destroys the constitution and the senses, and has made people mad?

Ant.—By my faith, I would not have a learned wife.

Mag.—But I bless myself that I have got a husband that is not like yourself. Learning both endears him to me and me to him.

Ant.—Learning costs us a good deal to get, and, after all, we must die.

Mag.—Pray, tell me, sir: suppose you were to die to-morrow, had you rather die a fool or a wise man?

Ant.—Why, a wise man, if I could come at it without taking pains.

Mag.—But there is nothing to be obtained in this life without pains, and yet, let us get what we will, and what pains soever we are at to attain it, we

must leave it behind us. Why, then, should we think much to be at some pains for the most precious thing of all, the fruit of which will bear us company into another life?

Ant.—I have often heard it said that a wise woman is twice a fool.

Mag.—That indeed has been often said, but it was by fools. A woman who is truly wise does not think herself so; but, on the contrary, one who knows nothing thinks herself to be wise; and that is being twice a fool.

Ant.—I can not tell how it is, but as pack-saddles do not become an ox, neither does learning become a woman.

Mag.—But I suppose you can not deny that pack-saddles look better on an ox than a miter on an ass or a sow. What think you of the Virgin Mary?

Ant.—Very highly.

Mag.—Was she not bookish?

Ant.—Yes, but not with such books as these.

Mag.—What books did she read?

Ant.—The Canonical Hours.

Mag.—According to what usage?

Ant.—Of the order of Benedictines.

Mag.—Indeed? What did Paula and Eustochium do? Did they not converse with the Holy Scriptures?

Ant.—Aye, but that is a rare thing now.

Mag.—So was a blockheaded abbot in old times, but now nothing is more common. In old times princes and emperors were not less eminent for learning than for their governments. And, after all, it is not so great a rarity as you think it. There are, both in Spain and in Italy, not a few women, and noble ones too, that are able to vie with men, and there are the Moricæ in England, and the Bilibaldicæ and Blaurericæ in Germany. So that if you do not take care of yourselves it

will come to that pass that we shall be professors of divinity in the schools, and preach in the Churches, and take possession of your miters.

Ant.—God forbid!

Mag.—Nay, it is your business to avert it. For if you hold on as you have begun, even the geese themselves will preach rather than endure a parcel of dumb shepherds. You see the world is turned upside-down, and you must either lay aside your dress or perform your part.

Ant.—How came I to fall into this woman's company? If you 'll come to see me, I 'll treat you more pleasantly.

Mag.—After what manner?

Ant.—Why, we 'll dance and drink heartily, and hunt and play and laugh.

Mag.—I can hardly forbear laughing now.

As usual, the abuses and sins of the Church find short shrift with Erasmus, and a page of the "Colloquies" is worth many pages of the general historian to bring home to us the actual Catholicism of that age. Therefore the conventional guardians of the things that are, were enraged at these dialogues. The Sorbonne divines tried to bring them under the ban. On the 15th of May, 1526, they met in solemn conclave in the Church of St. Maturin, Paris, to consider the offense of Erasmus They concluded that the "Colloquies," under the color of exercises for youths in Latin composition, threw opprobrium and ridicule on the fasts of the Church, vows to Mary and the saints, virginity, and the monastic life. Accordingly, the learned and

reverend Fathers unanimously decreed that the reading of the book should be prohibited to all, especially to the young. They followed this with a list of "erroneous, scandalous, and impious propositions, contained in the book called 'Familiar Colloquies,' by Desiderius Erasmus, of Rotterdam, in the year of our Lord 1526, in which work the author, as if he were a heathen, ridicules, satirizes, and sneers at the Christian religion and its holy ceremonies and observances, tears them to shreds, and decrees their abolition."

Luther also took a dislike to the "Colloquies." "If I die," he says, "I will forbid my children to read his 'Colloquies,' for he says and teaches there many a godless thing, under fictitious names, with the intent to assault the Church and Christian faith. He may laugh and make fun of me and other men, but let him not make fun of our Lord God. See, now, what poison he scatters in his 'Colloquies' among his made-up people, and goes craftily at our youth to poison them."

It is hardly necessary to say that both Paris and Luther were unjust to Erasmus. He had reverence for real Christianity, as he considered it, but for much that passed for Christianity he had either good-natured raillery or contempt. And as sponsors for that pseudo-religion which Erasmus detested, the Sorbonne professors were not astray when they realized that the humor of the Dutch scholar was as serious a weapon to their cherished

institutions as the harsh blows of the Wittenberg monk. It was the instinct of self-preservation which led them to condemn the "Colloquies," like the contemptible censorship of Russia's despot. But for Luther's rough-and-ready condemnation there was not a like excuse. At the same time it is a tribute to the profound religiousness at the bottom of his German good cheer and *Gemütlichkeit*,— a seriousness which could not abide the brilliant wit that, like an ever-sparkling light, played on the surface of the "Colloquies."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONTROVERSY WITH LUTHER.

Next to the Greek Testament, perhaps the most important work of Erasmus for the Reformation was the publication of the "Paraphrases of the New Testament." When one remembers how, even to-day, with all of our knowledge of the Scripture, a flood of light is cast upon the actual meaning of the sacred text by such a book, for instance, as that of the late Professor George B. Stevens, of Yale, he can easily understand with what avidity the intellectual classes seized hold of Erasmus's Paraphrases to find out for themselves what Paul and the rest were really driving at. It was Paul in the actual tongue of educated people of 1517—a year of good omen—and Erasmus's work was a capital second to the Ninety-five Theses. Richard Pace, the king's secretary, said that, by reading Erasmus's Paraphrase of Corinthians he had been able to understand the meaning of St. Paul better than ever before. Except for the cries of the obscurantists, the Paraphrases were greeted with hearty applause everywhere. "Never did Papist, Lutheran, or Calvinist," says Scaliger, "compose a better, a more

elegant work than the Paraphrases of Erasmus." Stähelin remarks that it helped greatly to suppress the scholastic method in handling Scripture, that it broke the path to a freer and more living understanding of the same, and opened the eyes of many who later joined the Evangelical Church. Leo Juda translated the Paraphrases into German, and they soon appeared in French and English. They had the rare honor of being authorized by the king of England, and of being chained side by side with the Bible in his churches. According to Strype, the amiable and learned Catharine Parr, the sixth and last wife of Henry VIII, and one whom he did not behead, looked after the translation of the Paraphrases into English, doing part of it herself, it is said, and employing Udal, master of Eton, and others (1547). Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, did not like it, but Cranmer told him that the Paraphrases were the best book of the kind, that they were written by the "most indifferent writer"—that is, impartial—and by one who was opposed to the scholastic theology, and was well acquainted with the Fathers. Erasmus published first the Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans (1517, dedicated to Cardinal Grimani), followed by Corinthians and Galatians in a year or two, by the general Epistles (Peter dedicated to Wolsey), and finally the Gospels (Matthew dedicated to Charles V, John to Ferdinand, Charles's brother, Luke to Henry VIII, and Mark to Francis I), and Acts (1524, to Pope

Clement VII). It was the deliberate policy of our sagacious scholar to engage on his side the most influential patrons then available in Church and State. No small game for him!

In the preface to the Paraphrases he contends earnestly for the right of every one to read the Scripture in his own tongue,—a right that some Catholic Synods had denied. "I greatly differ," he says, "from those who maintain that the laity and the unlearned should be kept from the reading of the sacred volumes, and that none should be admitted to these mysteries except the few who have spent years over the philosophy of Aristotle and the theology of the schools." He says that there are only two ways in which the Scriptures may become accessible to all: either compel all men to learn the "three tongues," or translate the Bible into the language of the people and put it into their hands. He would like the time to come when the "farmer, as he holds the plow, shall sing to himself something from the Psalms; when the weaver, sitting at his web, shall lighten his toil with a passage from the Gospels. Let the sailor, as he holds the rudder, repeat a Scripture verse; and as the mother plies the distaff, let a friend or relative read aloud from the sacred volume." Still, Erasmus himself never translated the Scriptures into the common tongue. As Lilly says, he never appealed to the people, only to the cultivated and thoughtful, and that marks the difference between him and Luther.

But there were other differences. Luther was penetrated through and through with a sense of sin, of man's utter weakness and perdition, as well as with the Divine justice, omnipotence, and grace. Therefore he attributed everything to God, nothing to man. Erasmus was a lover of Origen and of the Greek theologians, and believed both in the omnipotence of God and in the freedom of man, and that the Fall had not left man a *massa perditionis.* There was a fundamental difference, therefore, between the two men. With Luther's reform movements Erasmus had hearty sympathy; with some of his theology, none whatever. Besides, events were driving the two men apart. People were sheltering themselves under Luther's doctrine to commit iniquity. The Peasant Movement filled Erasmus with profound consternation and distrust. Luther's coarseness and violence of expression were also excessively distasteful to our shrinking student, who knew how, himself, to write in scorching words if occasion called. Then, too, the high priests of Catholicism had supported Erasmus in all his ventures, had backed him financially, and flattered him as the paragon of their age. They were beseeching him to assert himself against the rising torrent which threatened to ingulf them and at times all society. Against the abuses of his Church he had spoken with sufficient emphasis, and they had not molested him. Now would he not say a word on the other side, show the world where he really stood,

and keep safe from destruction the institutions under whose protecting wing his work was done? Ah! it was a subtle temptation, and one need not wonder that Erasmus yielded.

He chose a subject as far away as possible from the burning questions of the day. Not the authority of the pope or the nature of the Church, not indulgences nor the hundred practices which Erasmus detested almost as strongly as Luther, not justification by faith, but the philosophical question of the free versus enslaved will. And yet it was a vital question in Luther's mind. He says, in his reply to Erasmus, that he is glad that Erasmus did not concern himself with trifling questions, like the papacy, purgatory, indulgences, and the like, but struck him on the throat and socket of his doctrine. With Luther it was overwhelmingly important to bring man to absolute despair of his own merits, will, doings, and to cast him as an abandoned sinner on the sole mercy of God.

Luther heard that Erasmus was contemplating an attack, and wrote to him in a friendly tone, and expostulated with him and urging him not to venture. "I see that God has not granted you the courage and insight to join freely and confidently with me in fighting these monsters. Nor am I a man to demand of you what goes beyond your strength and capacity. I have never wished that you should go beyond your own limitations and mingle in our camp; for though you might help us

greatly with your genius and eloquence, yet since your heart is not in it, it would be safer to serve within your own gift. The only thing to be feared was that you would some time be persuaded by our enemies to publish some attack upon our *doctrine,* and then necessity would compel me to answer you to your face. You can not hurt our cause,—it has gone too far. But if you would restrain those biting figures of rhetoric, leave us alone, or remain a spectator of our conflict, and not publish anything against me, I will publish nothing against you." This is a plea that Erasmus might have respected, though its reflections on Erasmus, expressed with Luther's customary frankness, may well have rankled in his heart. In his reply Erasmus acknowledges the politeness of Luther's letter, but assures him that he has at heart the purity of the Gospel as much as himself, for there is nothing that he is not ready to endure for its sake, and claims to be a better friend of the Gospel than many of the Lutherans; but he saw the disastrous effects of the Lutheran movement on literature, and dreaded lest all end in bloodshed. In fact, Erasmus was so thoroughly alarmed at the way the Reformation was taking, and so profoundly at variance with some of Luther's teachings, that his entrance upon this arena must have been as much in response to an inner as to an outer pressure.

At any rate, in 1524 he came out with his "De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe sive Collatio," printed by

Froben in sixteen folio pages. It is a modest, moderate defense of the Catholic view in its most evangelical phase; viz., that man is free to accept or reject the grace of God; that that grace is absolutely necessary; that it is given to man, but that its gift does not supersede, but rather stimulates and sanctifies, man's freedom. It begins by saying that the question is a very difficult one, and it is rather an act of piety to fall back upon one's religious and moral consciousness, and say nothing further. But all the worse is it to assert the bondage of the will, because that would place the souls of men, especially the ignorant masses, in the greatest danger. They could easily derive from that the right to sin. Such assertions belong only to the theologically educated classes. In a calm spirit he is going to discuss the question, though he is willing to learn from any one, even from Luther. He now takes up the Scriptural proof. Though the Church Fathers are mostly on his side, only Mani and Wyclif declaring for the sheer necessitas of Luther, he will keep to the Scriptures. The true method is not to take passages out of their connection, nor to build up one's whole theological deduction on single passages. Nor should one listen to those who claim that their interpretation is true because they have the Spirit. What about others who make the same claim, and yet take a different interpretation? For freedom there are two chief arguments,—(1) the conception of God as a moral Person; and (2) the conception

of the moral personality of man. Who denies the freedom of the will, makes God the author of sin, which is consistent with neither God's righteousness nor goodness. The demands of God upon man assume his freedom, otherwise God would be a tyrant. Only on this assumption is there any human responsibility. All God's commandments are for the purpose of stimulating him to virtue. He is to strive after perfection, and so he must fight with sin. But that is all illusory if man can only do what God drives him to do. If man is free, it is not an illusion. And that freedom in the religious sphere is simply this: the power to receive or reject eternal salvation. Here grace comes in, which is carefully guarded by Erasmus. It is not merely a natural endowment of man from God, but it is a transforming working power which goes out from God into the will of man. Of course, God could force man; but He does not. He pours into him His grace; but man can receive or reject it. He can open his eyes to God's light, or shut them. For though the soul is darkened by Adam's fall, its light is not extinguished. Seeds of noble feeling remain in the heart. So the centurion Cornelius, by Divine help, even before he received the gift of the Holy Ghost, was able to prepare himself to receive the Holy Spirit. In the co-operation of the Divine and human, the Divine is by far the predominant partner; our man's part is not nil; it is not sufficient for merit, but it is sufficient for watchfulness and care.

In Luther's reply, "De Servo Arbitrio" (1525), he goes the whole length of determinism. God works all, man nothing. God does not first create the evil in us, it is born there; but after it is there, God works it out. God is a restless actor, and will not allow us to have a holiday. "God works evil in us, not through any fault of His, but through our own faultiness; we being by nature evil, and God good; He hurries us along by means of His own agency, such is the nature of His omnipotence; and good as He is in Himself, He can not do otherwise than work evil by an evil instrument, which He makes a good use of, however, by turning it to His own joy and our salvation." So the heart of an evil man is hardened. The evil is there always, but the evil will could not be stirred up, and hardened, unless the Omnipotent Actor drove it along, as He does the rest of His creatures, by an inevitable impulse. "On account of this evil in man, he can do absolutely nothing for his own salvation; everything is from God. To assert anything else is Pelagianism. Man is passive, God alone is active. There is no middle ground," says Luther, "either that or Pelagianism. Besides, anything else destroys the *certainty* of salvation. We can never know when we have done enough, unless all comes from God; but the ever all-working God is the sure rock of our salvation." But "you exclude the Holy Spirit with all His power as altogether superfluous and unnecessary." (A grievous misrepresentation, as

Erasmus makes God's stimulus and co-operation not only necessary, but by far the major part.)

We can easily see the tremendous interest which Luther had in his doctrine of the enslaved will. As Von Walter says: "Luther had felt God as a power which daily, hourly, had flowed around him as the source of all his activity, and in His love bearing him on to Himself. So he repudiated the cold, observant God of Aristotle, of Deism. His God is always working. Over against such a God, man is small and weak. He must in humility wait upon God, as he can do nothing for his salvation. If he had ever so little free will he could boast of his merit."

In 1526 Erasmus came out with a reply, "Hyperaspistes Diatribai adversus Servum Arbitrium M. Lutheri" (Part II, 1527), in which he answers Luther in Luther's spirit. I have already quoted those parts which give a personal judgment. As to doctrine, Erasmus says there is no dogma of Luther's condemned by the Church in which he agrees with him: "I have, O Luther, so much faith in the Holy Scriptures and the decrees of the Church that, even without the help of your faith I may hope to obtain salvation through God's mercy. There are people who do away with baptism, others horribly insult the pictures of the saints, and you help them." This was very unjust: Luther did nothing of the kind. "If you had convinced us that you were the man whom God chose to renew the

Church, and to whom alone there was nothing dark in the Holy Scriptures, we could have bowed to thee. But you have not convinced us. Your bitterness in writing, your itch for calumniation, your biting jokes and mockeries against all who do not receive your dogmas, make us to miss in you the Spirit of Christ. As to the question in dispute, for fifteen hundred years the Church has taught that the will is not inactive, though ineffective unless it is continually helped by the Holy Ghost. It is not right to dispute this unless it is done with moderation, and with the intention to confirm the Church in what she has transmitted. In my treatise I have shown that what the Church has determined is true, viz., that in man there is a power of free will, which works together with the grace working in us, without which it can not attain salvation. It is godless to do as you do, to doubt what the Church has received with so great unanimity. In this power of choice which I ascribe to the will, I do not exclude grace as you charge, but presuppose it. Nor have I done anything against the Gospel, as Luther says, as I would rather die a thousand times than to contest one iota of evangelical truth. But one should not determine for himself as to doctrine, but let the Catholic Church speak, to whose judgment I submit everything."

This is not the place to assign their relative merits to the views of these two great contestants. One trouble with Luther was his false psychology,

his false conception of the Divine immanence (for God has not left Himself without a witness in the soul, for He is there), of the Divine Fatherhood. His famous picture of the soul, either as a rider ridden by God to heaven or by the devil to hell, is sufficient. But the profound religiousness of his nature, to which God was all-in-all, was at the bottom of his contention, and that made his aim a noble one, even if in its execution he shows that there were some things not dreamed of in his philosophy. With Luther we can not assign too much to God in man's salvation, but with Erasmus we must maintain man's integrity as a moral personality, who is to give an account of himself to God. God is all-in-all, but man, as man, can still say, "*Our* Father, who art in heaven." Therefore I must reject Harnack's judgment that Erasmus's treatment is fundamentally a worldly, irreligious one. It presupposes only a wider definition of religion.

CHAPTER XVII.

ERASMUS AND PEDAGOGY.

ALBERT LANGE says that while Luther must be chiefly thanked for freeing education from the sham formality of the Middle Ages, yet for the theory of pedagogics, for education proper, for studies, Erasmus must be considered epoch-making. Standing upon the Scriptures, upon the ancients, especially upon Aristotle, Plato, Quintilian, and Plutarch, he was at the head of those Humanists who overthrew the old system of studies, a very Hercules both in winning new teaching materials and in sweeping out the old; who incited to new thoughts and aims, and who, by his sound sense, all-around judgment, scorn of unreality, and genuine love of human progress, imparted the same healthy impulse to pedagogy that he did to religion.

As to the training of children, he begins with the mother. The mother who does not carefully look after this is only half a mother. There are certain prenatal rules which she must attend to. When the child is born she must herself nourish him at the breast; failure in this is a kind of exposure. Well-born is something, but instruction is

more. The child is a fallow field, teaching is the seed. There is a Pelagian sound in the remark that the chief part of original sin is temptation and bad example. The boy must be cared for. Children need chiefly milk food, avoiding all spices and strong drink, and clothing them neither too heavily nor too thinly, and never gaudily. Damp and over-hot rooms, but not bathing, are to be avoided, and association with joyful and healthy children is to be sought.

Instruction before the seventh year is to be in the way of play; after that, work may begin. Instant obedience is to be demanded. Even when commands are given which have no sense, they are to be fulfilled, provided, of course, nothing bad is commanded. Nothing is more destructive than insubordination. But friendliness is to be united with strictness. And here comes up the question of corporal punishment, in which Erasmus, as in so many things, was far in advance of his age. All punishment is to have reference to the future good of the subject, not simply as atonement for the past. He himself belonged to those children who would rather die than be made to do right by blows, but who could easily be moved to better things by friendliness and kind words. Still, in an age when men were moved chiefly by an appeal to the senses, Erasmus was too practical to abolish the rod altogether. But cases for the rod are very rare. The true rod is exhortation, warning, and blame. Sham-

ing and praise, as well as an appeal to honor, are to take the place of the stick. But if these are proved to be altogether useless, then corporal punishment may be used as a last resort. No sooner does Erasmus allow this, however, than he softens it by the remark that no such punishment should be inflicted as a mark of disgrace or ignominy, but should be immediately followed by something to console the feelings and reassure the punished. Tögel comments on this—so that you may be sure he is a German—that in these advices the philanthropist gets the better of the pedagogue, and that here Erasmus forsakes his wonderful pedagogical tact, inasmuch as he takes away from corporal punishment that which gives it its psychological value. On the contrary, it is exactly here that the genius of the man appears. He saw that bodily pain is rarely of moral worth, and that as ordinarily administered it is as degrading to the administrator as it is both degrading and useless to the unhappy subject. The discipline of American schools and the later lives of their scholars show that, on the whole, the abolition of the old barbarism, the rod, which was in full sway within the too keen memory of most readers of this book, and which is still enjoying its hateful and cruel triumphs on the quivering hides of English and Continental lads, was a benefit rather than the reverse. The sharp-visioned Erasmus saw the uselessness of this savagery, for which we are chiefly indebted to the hard civili-

zations of antiquity, buttressed by a false theory of Biblical inspiration and interpretation. He says: "He whose conscience is moved neither by the fear of God, nor respect for his parents, nor by shame,—he will not become better by blows." Incorrigible pupils, if such there be, are simply to be dismissed.

"Idleness is a most destructive pest," says our scholar. We must constantly study a child's nature, see to it that he has no time for thoughts of ill. He must always be occupied, even if with play. Many quote, but few lay to heart, the word of Horace: "The new cask will long keep the odor with which it has been once impregnated."

In regard to what is taught, Erasmus's interest in learning did not lead him to undervalue religion. Morality and religion are the great end of all culture. Without God, culture is like the husks fed to swine, with which the prodigal son sought in vain to satisfy his hunger. One is a temporal food, the Divine wisdom is the true manna. Nothing is to be more carefully learned than piety, which one can not sufficiently learn his whole life through. In order of time, also, the moral training must come before the intellectual, and holiness must not be missed in one's striving for culture. "Knowledge is good," says Erasmus, "but love is better." "Little knowledge and great love are better than much knowledge and no love." Every teacher must strive to send his boy home to his parents, not only more learned, but also more pious and moral. "If knowl-

edge does not serve virtue, in spite of its numberless benefits it does more harm than good." All intellectual diciplines are to have reference to Christ. Who deviates from the doctrine of Christ,—he can lay no claim to be called "scientific." Not only so, but all pride of knowledge, extravagant devotion to study, the obstinacy that presumes on learning, which perhaps declines obedience to the teaching authority of the Church,—all this is to be rejected. Knowledge and virtue are by no means synonymous. Over and over again in various works, Erasmus warns against the overvaluation of learning when it is accompanied by the undervaluation of morality and piety. Therefore, he says, it is greatly to be regretted that the older representatives of the New Learning in Italy and France led such bad lives. His own contemporaries are to be praised in this regard. It was he, and men like him, whom Leo X had in mind when he wrote to Henry VIII: "We have often seen that these men who care for the best arts and sciences are in morality free from blame." I might say, in passing, that the reproach of Luther and of the reactionary Catholic theologians thrown at Erasmus, that he treated religion and Christ with irreverence and therefore despised them, though having a surface justification in some joke or sweeping raillery against an abuse, is really a flagrant injustice. For, as he says truly in defending his "Colloquies," his effort was to do away with foolish and superstitious beliefs and practices;

and that is not, he says, a proof of a mocking despisal of the Christian religion, but of upright love of piety and zeal for the honor of Christ.

But religion being guarded, Erasmus does not stint his words in praise of education. "Far beyond sensuous pleasures is the joy which comes from working with the beautiful sciences; just as the spirit overtops the body, man animals, so high does the beauty of virtue stand over shame; happy the acquisition of culture, happier its possession. It transforms man, not into a beast, but into a god. Knowledge or culture is pure, without fault; it makes sweet all bitterness of the soul; it is sweeter the oftener it is tasted; it knows no envy; it is the happier the more take part in it; it accompanies us to the last breath; the years which make everything else to fade bring that to bloom; it knows no satiety; it is fitted to every age, to every race; it frees age from its burdens, it goes with us everywhere, and pleases that part of man which is most peculiarly human." Only the educated deserve truly the name of man; for Aristotle is right when he estimates the difference between the educated and the uneducated as great as that between life and death. Mere noble birth amounts to but little; the true nobility is culture, and virtue, and service for the common weal. The learned are the ornaments of a land.

With other Humanists, Erasmus was, as we have seen, a lover of classical study. How far could that study be pursued without danger? Would it

not bring in heathen customs and ideals? This question was all the more pressing, as there were a number of representatives of the new studies whose defection from Christianity was notorious. As Erasmus says himself, "There are Christians who are only outwardly so; their heart is filled with heathenism." "Jupiter optimus maximus" sounds better to their ears than "Jesus Christ, the world's Savior," and "Patres conscripti" than the "holy apostles." "They hate the name of Christ." Yes, even in the papal court such paganism is in full swing. So Erasmus. But Luther twitted even him with the same. Our scholar says, sadly: "Luther desires to convince the world that Erasmus is not only in Divine things absolutely unbelieving, but that with lying deception he has for a long time striven to destroy the whole Christian religion, and to bring paganism again into the world."

Erasmus was concerned, therefore, to show that classical study was not necessarily unchristian. One could bring forward for it, he says, the authority of St. Basil, Cyprian, Jerome, and especially of Augustine. He reproduces the remarks of the latter concerning heathen culture in his "Doctrina Christiana" (ii. 18 ff., 40). Heathen superstitions and evil imaginations are to be avoided, but their discoveries, sciences, etc., are important for the Christian, especially for the theologian. Erasmus points to the whole history of the Christian Church for proof that heathen culture was always pressed into

Christian service as long as there were Christians competent to do it. And even the later Middle Ages, for whom a great part of that culture was out of reach, confessed that it was only the abuse, not the use, which was to be blamed. There is no danger in classical studies to faith and morals (continues Erasmus), except where faith is already external and dead. Let Christ's doctrine be only instilled in a simple and fair way, and there is no danger. Then no censorship need be exercised over heathen books; the remedy is subjective, in the reader's own spirit,—not objective.

But the classical study is not an end in itself. For one's style it is important, but it is foolish to overestimate it. He who concerns himself merely with good learning is heathenish. The second-rate poets who affect the Latin are to be despised. These studies are as spice to other more important ones. Regard must be had to the calling of the pupil. While the boy should be instructed in every kind of knowledge, his future calling should determine the selection of the most appropriate. The knowledge of language is indispensable to all, but not equally for all. While the orator and ambassador should be able to speak in Ciceronian style, that is not necessary for the preacher. "Should priests, physicians, mathematicians study Greek? That I will not decide," says Erasmus; but he is sure that the heaps of errors in the sciences with which these men have to deal are on account of ignorance of

Greek. "It is to be hoped that in the public schools Galen and Hippocrates, as well, of course, as Aristotle, shall be read in the original Greek. I think in a short time it will be looked on as an effrontery for a physician to come out without a knowledge of Greek. In theology it is indispensable. There can be no thorough theological culture without a knowledge of the three tongues. The failure to know Greek and Hebrew was one of the causes of the fall of theology," says Erasmus, "and its reformation can come only by the help of linguistics and other sciences. It must go back to the original documents, and every theologian must be able for himself to test the translation. Trust in commentators and glosses is deceptive. Without previous training in the languages and the liberal disciplines, for the unschooled spirit to press into the secrets of Divinity is almost sacrilege. Equally shameless is it without that knowledge to attempt to write about the Scriptures, or to explain them. Theology is the queen of sciences, and all learning is her handmaid."

In regard to the modern languages, what was Erasmus's attitude? No language, with him, possessed in itself educative power. It was only its *use* that he was after. "While every language," he says, "has its own elegance and force, this is true in any large degree only of the classical tongues." As all educated people spoke Latin, there was little chance for the scientific development of

language. Erasmus himself could speak very poorly German and French, and heard them spoken by the uneducated alone. To him the Romanic tongues were simply corrupt Latin, and as such despised. French sounded to him raw and barbaric, and he wondered how such an excellent book as that by Albrecht Dürer could be written in German. "All popular languages are like tares among the wheat, and if possible ought to be rooted out. O that the human race," he cries out, "spoke still only Latin and Greek!" There are only three languages,— Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The first can be left out of the account, as it is little known, and, even by the Jews, spoken in a corrupt way. Greek is essential for those who want to go to the sources, or wish to do thorough work. But Latin,—ah! that is the tongue! It is the "citadel of the Christian religion, the foster-mother of the spirit, the sanctuary of the muses, the common mother of all people." It was *his* mother-tongue. As Compayré says, "He thought, loved, hated, and became mad in Latin."

For the natural sciences Erasmus had little interest. But he did not ignore them. The knowledge of things is more important than that of words. Children should learn the names and nature of trees, animals, fishes, plants. He can not understand how people can look out on the glory of spring, and not be joyful at the "flowers, the green meadows, the brooks, and springs, and fail

to thank God for the splendor of the heavens, the productions of the earth, the gushing fountains, the flow of rivers," etc. He made occasionally independent observations of nature, which, he says, can teach man much. While Erasmus did not emphasize the physical sciences, nor appeal from books to things as objects for study, he was true to the spirit of the Renaissance in ignoring mediæval abstractions in favor of actual life and things. In the use of the concrete for pedagogical purposes he was, as Tögel says, a master and far ahead of his time.

As to philosophy, Erasmus's attitude to scholastic divinity prepares us for no worshipful posture. While some of the Humanists call philosophy "the queen of all arts, the beginner and fulfiller of all arts," that did not at all correspond to her actual position. Erasmus would go as far as Augustine, whom he quotes: "What philosophy, especially of the Platonists, brings forward which is true and agreeable to our faith, that is not only not to be avoided, but to be taken from its unlawful possessors and turned to our own purposes." Only for such use there is little opportunity now, as the contesting of Christianity by philosophy, which would have to be met by its own weapons, is no longer in vogue. And to study metaphysics in order to interpret a few passages in the Fathers, is a game not worth the candle, just as to study astrology because the Scriptures occasionally speak

of the stars. Of course it is seemly to concern oneself with the principles of things, with the conception of the unending, of time, etc., but generally such things run to sophistry. It is sinful to spend life with such questions, when people do not know what kind of a thing a cicada is, or what kind of a tree a service tree is. While philosophy is of little use, it is often of great harm. It has not only been injurious to the doctrinal development of the Church, but thorough philosophic study is almost sure to have bad effects. It prejudices the sound human understanding, and the pride which it engenders injures piety. Think of the inflated pride which boasts of its Plato, its Aristotle, Averroes, and calls Moses a magician, the prophets dreamers, and the apostles simple peasants! Upon such arrogance follows blindness of heart; upon this the rule of the passions; after that a whole herd of sins; then habit, obtuseness of spirit, death, hell! At any rate, the bread of the philosophers and Pharisees can not satisfy the hunger of the soul. "I am not against philosophy, only it must be used discreetly and as a help."

Moral philosophy stands on other grounds. Still even here heathen philosophy is far behind "evangelical philosophy" (that is, of the Gospels). One must not disdain such help, nor think he can teach himself how to live. Moral philosophy teaches more in one year than a man could learn in thirty. Still personal intercourse with wise men,

observance of the teaching of history, and a practical activity—especially in traveling—should come in to supplement theory.

Only competent and good men should be selected as teachers. The criminal carelessness of parents, says Erasmus, in selecting instructors for their children is disgraceful. But not even every good and able man is fit to be a teacher: he must also be mild and patient. The schoolroom should be clean and attractive, not like the sties one sees everywhere. God pity the boy who receives a niggardly education in the caverns of certain obscurantists, that race of monks-worldlings! Teachers also should be well paid. Some pay their horsemen or falconers more than their teachers.

From this republic of letters no woman should be excluded. The sisters of Pirkheimer, the four daughters of John of Baumgarten, the wife and daughters of Sir Thomas More, are examples, as Paula, Eustochium, and Marcella were in the days of Jerome. So far from learning being morally dangerous, it is a preservative. Two things chiefly endanger the purity of maidens—idleness and lascivious plays. Love of knowledge preserves them from both. Judgment and thought come to the help of chastity, and scientific culture contributes to this. Love-songs and romances, easy-going music, dancing, unchaste pictures (which, as well as music, had found their way into Churches), are the enemies of chastity. Nor does education make

women less obedient as wives. Their service in all relations is more quick, intelligent, and competent. A woman should be the intellectual companion of her husband, not simply the instrument of his lust, for which half-idiots would do as well. No; she must have head and heart in the right place who would keep her house in order, train her children, and give satisfaction in everything.

Such are some of the pedagogical ideas of Erasmus. His "De Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis libellus" (1529) is one of the great books in the history of education. It shows a fresh unspoiled spirit, a marvelously acute and sound judgment, and points a path far beyond his own day, and which some lands in our own have not yet reached.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONTEMPORARY AND LATER JUDGMENTS—ATTITUDE AND CREED.

WHAT was Erasmus—a Catholic, a Protestant, or a freethinker? Did he have any fundamental beliefs? Why did he not attach himself finally to the Reformation? Was he a time-server? I have been much interested in reading the judgments of his contemporaries and of later writers down to 1845, as Chlebus has collected them, and of more recent scholars. Some of these I shall quote. John à Lasco: "When we think of what Erasmus really accomplished for his time, it is not fitting to demand more from him than God gave him, and what could be obtained only after him." Grynæus (professor in Heidelberg, and after 1529 in Basel): "He damaged the pope more by his writings and mockery than Luther ever did by his heavy attacks." Aventinus: "For ages there has been no one who has done more for Christianity than Erasmus." Beza placed this verse in Latin under a picture of Erasmus:

"The mighty earth resounds with the mighty Erasmus,—
This pictured tablet restores the half of thee.
But why not the whole? Stop, reader, to admire;
For the whole earth itself could not contain so much."

A French Catholic writer, 1707: "The 'Colloquies' of Erasmus did more for the Protestants than the ten tomes of Calvin." Burigny, his French biographer (also R. C., 1757): "As he constantly subjected himself to the judgment of the Church, one can not, conformably to the Council of Trent, hold him for a heretic." Kessler (R. C.): "Erasmus dealt with the Catholic Church as a mother with her child, who strikes him and afterwards kisses him." Bayle: "He was the John the Baptist of Luther." Geodesius and others: "By his New Testament he laid the foundation for everything better that was to follow." Clericus (Le Clerc): "Erasmus strove for the true faith, although he may have failed here and there in zeal and courage." Seckendorf: "No one hurt the cause of Luther by his books more than Erasmus." Henke: "Erasmus did not go over to Luther because he knew that was too hard for him." Gaudie (a biographer of Erasmus, 1789): "He never saw quite through the hierarchical system." Semler: "It will be a great shame if Erasmus's prefaces to the Church Fathers, which give so much light upon ecclesiastical conditions, are forgotten." Fessler: "In the new way of the Protestants he could not go as far as others, because the visible Church meant so much to him, and to forsake it seemed treason to Christ." Villers (French, 1804): "His modest and rich spirit first showed the way to the friends of light, and he did much to awaken an

interest in critical studies." Wieland: "On account of his character and temperament, his love of peace, and on account of dangerous conditions, he did not go over to Luther; he had too delicate a conscience to separate from the Church, while at the same time the Reformers went to work too passionately and quickly." Planck: "He was as great an enemy to churchly abuses as Luther, but more cautious, and with a desire to win the educated." Baumgarten-Crusius: "Erasmus and Luther misunderstood each other. The former saw only a scholastic strife, the latter the weightiest doctrines of faith; the former believed that Luther's feeling and zeal bore him on and deceived him in his apprehension of dogma." Schröckh: "Erasmus did the greatest service to theology, but an actual Reformation was never his intention." After discriminating praise, Hottinger says that later "the churchly fight proved him in the fire, and showed that in the strife between darkness and light only he can come out victorious who offers up everything to the truth that he knows." Marheineke: "He felt nothing in his soul which enabled him to understand the dauntless hero-soul of Luther." Gieseler: "Erasmus was two-tongued; he wanted to escape the attacks coming to him from both sides, and on account of his whole nature he had to stand in decided opposition to Luther." Woltmann: "Erasmus often showed that he could sacrifice himself for the truth, but he knew too much

to shout for Luther. By the oppositions of enemies and the unbearable arrogance of Luther he would not enroll himself under him." Müller (biographer of Erasmus, 1828) explains him by a strong feminine strain in his nature, which Ullmann rightly denies. Jäkel: "Erasmus and Reuchlin were for the Reformation what Voltaire and Rousseau were for the French Revolution."

Among more recent judgments are the following. Drummond: "Intellectually he belonged neither to the papal Church nor to evangelical Protestantism, but was equally in advance of both. Far before his own age, he embodied in himself what we now call the modern spirit—the spirit of doubt, of inquiry, and investigation, which, it is certain, is the only path to whatever truth may be attainable to man." Maurenbrecher: "Erasmus was the representative of Catholic reformation, in the spirit of Colet, Fisher, and More. This meant (1) the spiritualizing of scholasticism, or its substitution by a simpler faith; (2) popularization and simplification of Church teaching; (3) firm opposition to the abuses in the Church, accompanied by positive instruction; (4) the treasures of knowledge to be placed at the service of reform; (5) simple, earnest, religious preaching and pastoral care; (6) the princes must set their hands to this peaceful reform work. With upright persevering spirit Erasmus worked for this among scholars, statesmen, etc." Wagenmann: "The trouble with Erasmus was, that

he never understood the Freedom-call of Luther; nor, with all his learning and his learned, valuable work, did he ever discover the emancipating, regenerating, character-forming, and steel-tempering might of truth. It was that which separated his way forever from that of the Reformers. He showed also that Humanism itself could not educate men, much less reform a world."

Von Bezold agrees with Drummond, that Erasmus was essentially a Liberal Christian, if not a skeptic. He had no sympathy with that huge growth of dogmatic theology, where sophistry had slowly but surely buried the simplicity of Christianity under numberless articles of faith. "The quintessence of our religion," he says, "is peace and oneness of spirit. That can only exist where we make fast as little as possible, and in many things let each judge for himself." Even in doctrines considered fundamental he allowed himself freedom. In the book against Luther he says that, were it not for the authority of the Scripture and of the Church, he might rather be a skeptic. He felt the need of an external authority; but for that, he would have been carried further and further toward negation.

There is buried in the files of the proceedings of the Vienna Academy of Sciences a fresh and independent judgment of Erasmus by an enthusiastic investigator of his writings, Adelbert Horawitz, which the reader will thank me for reproducing,

and which I am able to do by the courtesy of Harvard University Library: "Erasmus displeased all parties. A fine spirit like him, superior to his century—yes, even to the loudest representatives of it—could not please parties. Such a man is no simple sum in arithmetic; he does not fit in a narrow confession of faith, in the phraseology of even a great party. That the Lutherans blamed this quiet scholar, disinclined to every disturbance, because he could be no Hutten or Luther; that he was finally hated because he most bitterly disappointed the ardent hopes of the Wittenbergers, is just as conceivable as that the reform Catholics looked upon him as one of their own, while Eck, Aleander, Sutor, and their consorts attacked and endangered him—certainly with more right—as the father of heresy. [He then speaks of the various views concerning Erasmus held to-day.] Erasmus, I do not hesitate to say, belonged neither to the Catholic nor to the Protestant camp. Much too learned and acute to value many of the clergy of that time, too sharp-sighted to overlook flagrant abuses, he it was who by his incomparable talents and literary satire, gave the first lunge against the authority of the Catholic Church; he it was who was, as Von Ranke well says, the first modern writer of the Opposition. And to this man, with his mocking laugh upon his lips, to this rationalistic philologist, there came many hours when he perceived the deep gulf between his own conceptions

and the judgment of his high ecclesiastical patrons. Still it was even more apparent that, with all spiritual communion, with all similarity of fundamental views with the Reformers, he could not publicly go with them without starting bad scandals and struggles. His critics forget that at the beginning of this great struggle Erasmus was no longer young—over fifty, which is not the time in which one undertakes a struggle, in which he sets at the throw of one card the whole result of his painful, laborious life. At least a scholar would have to give up his loved customs, friendly relations, in fact his whole domestic and social position, in order at last to be suspected by the forward-storming ones, yes, to be rejected by them. Then came Luther's very popular, coarse, and stronger tone—all the less agreeable to Erasmus, the passionateness and confidence of his words, and the exaggerations of his friends and pupils. It is not to be denied that the Father of German Humanism was at the very beginning very favorable to the Father of the German Reformation, but that, little by little, an even greater anxiety found place in his soul, a conviction that the complete loosing from the usual order would lead, not only to 'scandals,' but even a perfect 'tragedy,' which would entail the destruction of studies so gloriously cared for by him, but now hardly begun. The Peasant's War, etc., argued for the rightfulness of these forebodings. On the other hand, he could not expect to declare openly against

those [Protestants and Semi-Protestants] whose justification he not only acknowledged, but even in the years of his greatest glory spoke out. It could not be expected that he would attack the men who looked admiringly up to him as the one ornament of Germany; who were his co-fighters in his strife against scholasticism and the Men of Darkness; who were his enthusiastic public, his devoted scholars! If he unconditionally shut himself out from Luther, who was certainly not sympathetic to him, he must sacrifice his individuality, his way, his accustomed favorite relations. If he went to the side of Eck, Aleander, and Stunica [strict Catholics], he would have perpetuated a kind of self-murder; he would have sacrificed the respect not only of those capable of judging, the reverence of learned circles, of the most helpful part of the nation, but also his whole brilliant past, his fame, the principles of his investigation, the fairest ideas for which he worked. He decided for neither party, but to keep a perfectly independent position *over* the parties. But how little the ideal strivings of man are transformed into reality, the purity of his original will reflected back, the further behavior of the great scholar shows. Concessions to both sides, vexation over the intentional and unintentional indiscretions of his correspondents, gossip in which his evil humor was sharply spoken of, nervous irritability, the pressure of his patrons and friends, the passionateness of Luther, turned Erasmus often

enough from what he might have willed, from what would alone have been worthy of him. So came apparent unclearness and contradictions of all kinds in his writings and doings, which, however, are explainable in every case."

What, then, was the creed of Erasmus? The Bible is the flesh of the Lord (he always interprets John vi of the written or spoken word of the Lord), the pure fountain of evangelical doctrine, which we should eat and drink. It is the meadow of the flock of Christ, the rod and staff in which we may trust. It should be translated into every tongue and read by all. To understand it requires no theological training. Every pious Christian is capable of reading it and becoming his own theologian. Christ teaches through it every soul who longs after Him. The content of the Bible is to be taken by faith, for which it is normative. There is no higher authority. The Holy Spirit is the author. This does not mean that it does not contain minor errors, which do not touch its authority. Nothing is to be asserted as of faith, which it does not teach, but many things which do not contradict it may be allowed to stand. I put supreme faith in the Scriptures and in the Creed called the Apostles', and do not inquire beyond. Let the theologians dispute and define, if they will. The Old Testament is of less value than the New; still it is Scripture, though some things in it are hardly suitable for the simple.

It follows from this that scholastic theology is of little value. From its dogmas one should hold himself as far as possible. It is mostly superfluous subtleties. It is unbearable when scholastics set up new doctrines, and demand that the Church must accept them; such as, for instance, that Christ instituted auricular confession or taught purgatory. Let Aristotle give way to Christ. I would rather be a pious theologian with Chrysostom than be invincible with Scotus. The Church Fathers are much better than the scholastics; still even they are not free from error. Without blemish of error is no book except the Bible.

Councils may err, though Erasmus does not charge any specific error against the ancient Ecumenical Synods. "The Church may also err, though not so as to endanger faith. It is the communion of all Christian people. I subject my opinion to its judgment. The Church of Rome is orthodox, even though the godless are mixed up with it. I do not reject indulgences, papal decrees, etc., in themselves, only abuses. The infallibility of the pope is the invention of Italian fanatics. The Church has not taught it, nor the popes. The overlordship of the pope is no article of faith for which I would become a martyr. A good deal of his power is a thing of recent centuries. His worldly power is simply robbery, and is destructive to the Church. Her worst enemy is a godless pope, who may be dispossessed, just as any careless bishop. Still it

is not absurd for the Church to have one chief head."

"Faith is a firm and unshaken persuasion. It is able to comprehend and believe things not apparent to the senses. It is the divinely infused habit, by which, without any vacillation, we believe all things which are necessary to eternal salvation." The "Article of Faith is the irrefutable and divinely revealed truth, comprehended in a few words, and necessary to be believed by those who are zealous to embrace eternal salvation." "The strongest faith is this, that we believe whatever the Scriptures, received by the common consent of all Christians, narrate as a fact, promise for the future, prescribe to be done; and this faith by entire trust builds on God for present and future life." "Faith must be with the whole heart. This heart it purifies—that is, the mind, or reason, or fountain of the soul—while love corrects the depraved will." These views are excellent as far as they go, but they hardly reach Protestant ground.

The Christian life, to which we are introduced first by baptism, is faith and love, the following of Christ, the killing of worldly lusts, the deserving well in all things, the bearing adversity patiently, going on from virtue to virtue, living according to the Scripture pattern, etc. Lezius says that this expresses an unprotestant moralism, and this is true in the sense that Erasmus did not get hold as fully as the Reformers did of the idea of the Chris-

tian life flowing directly from faith as rooted in Christ. This life is for all, not simply for monks. Honorable and chaste marriage is just as pleasing in God's sight as celibacy, the wise use of riches as poverty, virtuous rule as monkish obedience. Every true Christian is religious. Still some are better Christians than others, more perfect in love, and service, and patience. To be a monk is to be no better and no worse than others.

Though Erasmus always lived according to his early vows, he was one of the most effective opponents of enforced celibacy the Reformation times produced. Marriage is a holy state, a compelled virginity unnatural, unhuman. The Bible speaks of the holiness of matrimony, never of that of celibacy. It is high time marriage was recommended, instead of inexperienced young people deceptively seduced into the cloister, where they can with difficulty preserve their chastity. Jerome erred much in calumniating marriage. Priests who have not the gift of abstinence should be allowed to marry. So with fasts. Christ and Paul gave no laws about fasting. The Church brought in fasting simply for health of body and soul, and no one is bound to her laws if he finds them injurious to health.

For saint-worship Erasmus did not care a fig. The Church placed the saints in place of the ancient gods and demi-gods, and in the early Church they were not worshiped. It is better to follow the example of Origen, Chrysostom, Basil, Augustine,

etc., who repeatedly invoked Christ, but never implored help of the Virgin. The saints can not hear prayer, and it is foolish to call upon them. It is similar to the Hercules cult. Mary-worship degenerates into magic or sorcery. Imitate the saints; do not pray to them. But for the sake of the Church he is willing to believe in the virginity of Mary. Reverence for relics and pictures smacks of heathenism, and where it can be done without tumult such articles ought to be banished from the Church. So all holy days except Sunday might well be done away. Religious pilgrimages are of no value.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CREED OF ERASMUS.

As to merit, Erasmus is neither heartily Catholic nor Protestant. What Christ sends to us he reckons as merit on account of His grace. God crowns His own work in us. A Christian should not boast of his own works, but rather distrust himself. What is virtue in us is to be ascribed to the grace of God. What He works in us or by us is to be accepted through His goodness as merit, but always with humility, for all of good that we have is from God. But a passage in iv, 1171A (Leyden edition) is flatly Catholic. "It is permitted to very few to live without the lighter sins, which creep in by the negligence of human nature. But these blemishes, as they spring up every day, so every day they are washed away, either by little prayers and alms, or by the recompense of some good work, but especially by receiving the Body of the Lord."

A word more on his view of the Church. This is not the hierarchy, but the whole people of God. Who serves God and his neighbor belongs to the Church. No pope can drive him out. However,

there is the external society of the Catholic Church, which, on account of public tranquillity, is not to be despised. Many are in the society of the saints that are not in our catalogue. No one can read Cicero "On Friendship," "On Old Age," "The Offices," his "Tusculan Questions," without feeling that he had a holy heart and was touched with celestial fire. "I almost feel like calling out, 'St. Socrates, pray for us.' In the Church, Christ works. Her task is by encouraging Bible reading and Christian culture to drive out ignorance and to teach morality and piety. So her pastors and bishops must be teachers and preachers."

The effect of the sacraments depends on the moral condition of the receiver. They bring salvation only under the presuppostion of faith in the receiver. Man can change the body, only God converts the soul. No sacrament has any effect unless God touches the spirit by invisible grace. But He does confer on the sacraments a secret energy, they build up, they excite in us a vigor of faith. There are three sacraments, baptism, penitence, eucharist; the other four are not denied, simply left out of the account.

Baptism introduces us into a new relation with God. It is like a military oath. Christ is the Emperor, the devil his opponent. By baptism a person disowns the latter and pledges himself to Christ. He is signed with the cross. He has received the gift of the Spirit, and is enrolled among the chil-

dren of God. He is now in the ark of the Church. His sin is forgiven. His pay is a good conscience and eternal glory. He is under obligation to walk worthily of Christ. Here Erasmus is a good Catholic. To be sure baptism and faith belong together, but that is also Catholic. Baptism washes away the stain of the original sin.

Penance brings the forgiveness of sins; it brings back the old innocence. The penitent is forgiven before absolution. Strictly speaking, the priest does not absolve, but proclaims the forgiveness of sins. Lezius says that Erasmus does not mean to deny the absolution-office of the priest, but simply to lead back absolution to Christ. Sins are to be confessed to God; who does this with penitence receives forgiveness, which he is made certain of by inner joy. Confession to a priest is not in the Scripture; but it is not to be abolished, as it was introduced into the Church by the Holy Spirit. But the evils and scandals of the Catholic confessional are numberless (see V, 153). He who so orders his life that he commits no mortal sin is free from the obligation of confession. (This is Catholic teaching and was later fixed so by the Council of Trent; only mortal sins must absolutely be confessed.)

Works of satisfaction are within the range of the Church, which can remit or require them. One should look for the remission of sins from the mercy of Christ, rather than to human certificates; but he does not deny pontifical indulgences and

such matters. They may have their place, though they are much overdriven. He doubts whether the power of the pope reaches to purgatory.

The Eucharist benefits only those who come to it purified of their sins and in faith. Others receive condemnation. As to the doctrine, Erasmus says: "I would consider myself the chief of heretics if in my numerous writings a passage was found which runs otherwise concerning the Lord's Supper than the Church, in virtue of the Scriptures, has prescribed." He writes the same thing to Pellican, who thought that Christ was present in the Supper, not in substance, but in power: "Neither in jest nor in earnest have I ever said anything contrary to the doctrine that in the Supper the true body and blood of Christ is at hand. Rather than to assert that there is nothing but bread and wine there, I would be torn in pieces." We are not concerned for Erasmus's consistency, but only for his teachings, and he certainly taught some things whose harmony with his Church it is a happy thing that he did not have to defend before the Spanish Inquisition. "When you make 'is' in 'This is my body' to mean simply 'signifies,' some would contradict you. But when you say this symbol which I give you signifies the indissoluble unity between Me, the Head, and my Mystical Body, the Church, then this figure, because it gives the right sense, is not to be rejected." He wrote to Justus, councilor of the Polish King Sigismund, concern-

ing Œcolampadius' symbolic view: "I do not see why the mass should be done away even if Œcolampadius's view were true. No one knows that the host is suitably and solemnly consecrated but the priest. If the prevailing unanimity of the Church did not move me, I could step with both feet on the side of Œcolampadius. Anyhow, I find no passage of the Holy Scriptures from which it is certain that the apostles consecrated bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ." To Buda, Bishop of Lyons: "A new dogma has come out; viz., that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper but bread and wine. That this doctrine is very hard to be refuted Œcolampadius has shown by so many witnesses, by so many proofs, that he might deceive the very elect." In another place he praises the book of Œcolampadius as a learned and pious one, if you ever were allowed to say so much of a book which goes against the opinions of the Church.

These expressions were naturally interpreted as though Erasmus did not believe in the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper in the Catholic sense. This enraged him, and he replies in the "Detectio Praestigiarum cujusdam Libelli" (1526): "I have never called the bread a symbol, but said once, 'It is a mystic food which offers to us the present Christ under the picture of bread and wine.' But suppose I had said 'Symbolic Bread?' What 's the harm? Might not the body and blood be there in a certain way, and are they not symbols of that

which can only be seen with the eye of the Spirit?" "In the book, 'The Complaint of Peace,' I speak of the heavenly bread and mystical cup of the holy table, the symbol of friendship. I call the taking of the body and the blood of the Lord the symbol of the mystical body, which is bound up with Christ the Head, and of the unity of the members with each other. Where, then, are the words that exclude the reality of the body and the blood of Christ?" "I have not changed my views on these matters since I was a young man, only that now I might be doubtful on some points if the authority of the Church did not confirm me."

The fact seems to be that Erasmus had no interest in transubstantiation as a dogma; that he believed in the actual presence of Christ in the elements; that a secret power works in the sacrament to those who partake of it in the proper spirit, but that he had not worked through a consistent and final theory. Sometimes he speaks in a Protestant sense, and sometimes in a Catholic, and once privately in the sense of Zwingli, and it is likely that the following words (X, 522 A) come as nearly as anything in giving his real mind: "Mistrust comes from many definitions. I am not ashamed to respond to certain: It is sufficient to me that I believe that God does it, in what way, you may know. I know that the body of Christ and the pure blood is to be taken purely by the pure; for Christ wills this to be the most sacred sign and

pledge both of His love towards us and of the concord of Christians among each other. In what way the bread is transubstantiated by the mystical words; in what way the sacred body can be under so small species and in so many places,—all this does not, in my judgment, conduce much to the progress of piety."

That ordination imparts an indelible character, Erasmus declared to be the invention of the scholastics, which hardly finds any support in Scripture or Augustine. The bishop's office is an historical development, as originally bishops were not over but side by side with the presbyters. Priests are not to rule the Church, but to serve it. It is probable that the Holy Spirit is given in ordination. It is certain, as Lezius says, that Erasmus did not hold the doctrine of orders in the strict Catholic sense.

Was Erasmus a Trinitarian? Something in the sense of Henry Ward Beecher, as holding to the spiritual facts underlying the Trinity, but caring nothing for the dogma as developed in history. The actual divinity of Christ he never dreamed of disputing. His attitude was that of Colet: the Bible and the Apostles' Creed are sufficient. What the Church has defined since or besides these is superfluous; it ought never to have been defined; but, having been defined, it holds, and ought not to be rejected openly, as that would cause turmoil, but may be left to one side. It would have been

better if the Church had allowed to repose in the secrets of the Almighty such questions as the distinctions of persons in God, the union of the two natures in Christ, the unpardonable sin (IX, 1217, B). The conception of the Virgin Mother of God has always been the cause of innumerable quarrels. It would have been much better to have let go the unbiblical word "of the same substance" (ὁμοούσιος), for in that case peace would have been kept (271-2). "I could have been an Arian if the Church had so willed it" (III, 1029 A), which does not mean that he did not found his faith on Christ as divine, for he did, but that he never thoroughly understood nor appreciated the Athanasian contention. His faith was sincere as far as it went; but he had the scholar's mind, not the theologian's. In his preface to the works of Hilarius he emphasizes (690 ff.) that Hilarius saw "how dangerous it was, how little religious, to speak of ineffable things, to search into the incomprehensible, and to pronounce concerning things far removed from our understanding." Everything depends on the purity of the spirit and the fruits of the Spirit. No one will be condemned who does not understand whether the Spirit proceeds from the Father *and* the Son. Hilarius never called the Spirit God, though he rages against the Arians, many of whom were pious, and are not to be called devils and Antichrists. He (Erasmus) could have been a Pelagian

if the Church had so decreed (III, 1029 A). Arius, Tertullian, Wyclif, were the victims of intolerance. (942, 1179 D).

Erasmus was a liberal Catholic. To interpret the above expressions as a preference for undogmatic Christianity to the extent that he sat loose to the doctrines of the Church in the spirit of a modern Unitarian, would be doing him grave injustice. He saw all around, and he saw afar; therefore he was patient of divergent views; his supple, inquiring, and alert mind was hospitable to teachings at one time which later he rejected. His overmastering hatred of social, civil, and international strife; his occasional—perhaps half-joking or simply humble—confessions of inability to become a martyr; his final refusal to go into the Reformation; his overmuch reverence for Church authority, are consistent with a devoted loyalty to Christ and his teachings, as sincere in its own way, and according to its light, as that of Luther. The writer of the "Colloquies" and the "Letter to Grunnius" was no coward. But Erasmus was Erasmus,—the scholar, the Humanist, the author, the reformer by his pen and by his Greek New Testament; the catholic soul and light-scintillating mind, who suggested to Zwingli his doctrine of the Eucharist; who wonderfully influenced Melanchthon, with whom he kept up his friendship unmoved by Luther's thunder; who even powerfully protected Luther himself by his friendship with

Luther's prince; who was always moderating Catholic counsels of violence, and appealing to Protestants not to break the unity of the spirit; who thus, as a buffer between the two parties, was knocked and bruised by both; and yet who, by conviction, by sentiment, by association, by historical necessity, remained until his death in the liberal school of pre-Tridentine Catholicism.

Speaking of Erasmus's influence over Melanchthon, this is witnessed in a letter of the latter to his friend, May 12, 1536. He assures Erasmus that he is still faithful in his old reverence for him, by whom he has been influenced in many doctrinal points. He says that in most of the questions in dispute he takes Erasmus's side, and he condemns the attacks of the Wittenbergers. Ellinger thinks that this refers especially to the doctrine of the freedom of the will, of the necessity of moral living, and perhaps of the Lord's Supper. In commenting on the literature that came out on the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Melanchthon, Drews has some interesting words: "No one has done justice to Erasmus's influence on Melanchthon. Everybody is thinking of Luther's influence on, and relations to, Melanchthon, no one of Erasmus. Erasmus is the key to Melanchthon. Of course his influence was not as great as Luther's. It never tore Melanchthon out of his path with a true grand power; but it was constant, still, enchanting. He never got free from Erasmus his whole

life long. How far did this influence reach? For that see my article in *Christliche Welt,* 1897, No. 6, 124. See also a short remark in Troeltsch, 'Vernunft und Offenbarung bei Joh. Gerhard und Melanchthon,' 151 Anm. 2. He accompanies an important passage from the 'Loci' (of Melanchthon) with the words, 'That is the ideal of a not sophistic theologian, which certainly is not a special peculiarity of Melanchthon's, but belongs generally to all the Humanistic theologians, especially to the pattern of the same Erasmus. The after effects of Erasmian theology comes out strongly with Gerhard in his frequent citations of Erasmus.' May the Melanchthon jubilee of 1897 bring this fruit; viz., that this relation between Melanchthon and Erasmus may be finally cleared up. How differently will one judge his theological and Christian-political relations when one first knows clearly and determinately what that relation signifies, when one calls him a Humanist of the Erasmian kind. But we must study Erasmus. Before we know Erasmus we can not know Melanchthon."

CHAPTER XX.

THE LAST YEARS.

EXCEPT a brief visit in April, 1517, Erasmus left England for good in August, 1516, having spent ten days with his friend Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Ah! rare ten days! I wonder what memories they recalled when he heard, many years after, that that "great chieftain of literature and piety," as he calls him, had fallen a victim to Henry's ax. And I wonder whether, if Erasmus had remained in England, his conscience would have been found sufficiently elastic, whether he would have veered to suit the new laws of the Tudor, or have kept his soul untainted of that monstrous tyranny, and followed up Tower Hill those noble companions with whom he had taken sweet counsel. Would his head have been set high on a pole above London Bridge, and that delicate body of his, which gave him so much care and pain,—would it have been rudely stripped and allowed to lie there naked in the sun till nightfall?

While in Antwerp, in 1516, he received a letter from Wolfgang Faber, preacher in Basel, which beseeches him to say nothing in his writings about

"superstitious selection of food, prayers ordered by the tale," about penance, the sacraments, the superstitious constitutions of monachism, or popular errors on the saints; for otherwise he would leave himself open to the virulence of envy, and be execrated as the enemy of Christianity. Did he whose timidity some make so much of follow Faber's advice? On the contrary, his bitter attacks against Church corruption were kept up almost to his death.

A pleasing side of Erasmus's influence comes out in a letter of Henry Glarean, a young professor in Basel. "What I owe to you is more than Alcibiades owed to Socrates. It was a great thing to have learned morality from Socrates, and to have been led by his admonitions to a better life, but I have received much more from you. Besides innumerable other benefits, the chief is this, that you have taught me to know Christ, not to know Him only, but to imitate, to reverence, and to love Him." That praise might balance a good deal of detraction from both sides.

"The Catholic king has been on the point of making me a bishop," he writes to Gilles, the town clerk of Antwerp, from Brussels, whither he had gone in October, 1516. "Where? you will say. Not in the furthest Indies, but among the Sicilians, a people once Greek, and even now lively and gay." But he had no idea of accepting. "I warned my friends not to put themselves in future to any use-

less trouble of this kind, as I was not ready to exchange my leisure for any bishopric however splendid." In this letter he also gives a glimpse into his philosophy of life. "Most of our diseases proceed from the mind, and you will be less upset by the labors of study if you regulate your studies by reason. Arrange your library and your letters and papers in certain settled places. Do not let yourself be attracted, now by one author, and now by another, but take one of the best in your hands, with no intention of letting him go until you have come to the last page, noting as you go on whatever seems worth remembering. Lay down for yourself a definite scheme of life, determining what you want to do and at what hours. Finish one thing before taking up another. Note down in a diary anything that has taken place you do not want to forget. Be guided by judgment, not by impulse. If you have made a mistake, correct it, but not in passion. Care not for trifles. Some things must be disregarded, and the mind raised to what is great. Make Seneca and Plato your familiars. Overlook injuries, avoid anger, support your father's old age; enjoy the society of your friends; live with your wife so that she will both love and respect you; confide in her all your affairs, and maintain authority over your household, but in such a manner that domestic familiarity may be flavored with courtesy." This to Buddæus, the great Paris scholar, was written at the same time:

"Your entire devotion to your own country will be praised by many, and will be readily excused by all; though, in my opinion, it is more philosophical to put our relations with things and men on such a footing as to treat the world as the common country of us all, even if we admit that the fairest district of Christendom is France."

In February, 1517, Erasmus received a flattering offer from the King of France to induce him to reside in that kingdom; but the wise scholar would not sell his independence, which would have been endangered by the Sorbonne, for a thousand-franc benefice. Of course he did not assign that reason, but it was doubtless the real one.

From 1517 till his death in 1536 his life and works were largely determined by the Lutheran movement. Certain aspects of his relation to that have been given, and to go into the matter with adequate fullness would require a volume. I have made an abstract from the hitherto unprinted correspondence published by Horawitz, most of which deals with these conflicts, and would be happy to give it here, but it is impossible. So leaving all that—perhaps for another occasion—I can give a light only here and there on the last stadium of that tireless life.

That the man who had fought so bravely the evils of his Church would not go into the camp of the Protestants was a bitter pill. A letter from Wittenberg, June 29, 1521, says: "By so much

more is Erasmus esteemed in theology there [Louvain], by so much less here. They say Erasmus has not the same spirit that Luther has. In his 'Enchiridion Militis Christiani' they are told rather to imitate Plato than Christ" (a misrepresentation). But ever and anon Erasmus spoke out a word for Luther; as, for instance, in letters to the elector of Saxony, to the pope, and to the Archbishop of Mainz. This last letter was given to Von Hutten to hand to the prelate, but by a breach of trust was published. It raised a storm around Erasmus's ears. His Spanish opponent, Stunica, called him the "standard-bearer and prince of the Lutherans." "Out of his breast," others said, "Luther has drawn his poison." Once he fell sick, and was reported dead. This pleased the Cologne Dominicans, who rejoiced that he had departed "without the light, without the cross, without God." On the other hand, Luther's tone in his great books of 1520 terrified him. "May Christ moderate his style and spirit!" he writes to Spalatin; "an evil demon has come over him."

When the pope issued the bull of excommunication against Luther, June 15, 1520, it greatly enraged Erasmus, and he did what he could to break its force without breaking himself. It was the only occasion (with one exception) where he entered into the arena of anonymous debate, and he came out with a pamphlet in which he took the daring step of throwing doubt upon the authen-

ticity of the document, a course which shook the faith of the people in the bull, and made Aleander, the papal nuncio who was charged with its proclamation, a peck of trouble. The friends of Luther translated this document of Erasmus into German, much against his wish, who wanted to confine his controversy to the intelligent, and who, unlike Luther, never made a popular appeal. Kalkoff, who has thoroughly investigated this incident, says that the suspicion against the bull thus aroused was very important for the Reformation. It helped to make void the papal attacks, to discredit their emissaries, to give Luther and the Reformation a breathing space. It was the deliberate policy of Erasmus to oppose any forceful measures against the Reformers, and he did this repeatedly and openly. But in the anonymous "Consilium Cujusdam," etc. (1520), composed at his dictation by Faber, he tried to show that the troubles of which Luther was the center could be settled only (1) by a German arbitration court, to be nominated by the emperor, and by the Kings of Hungary and England; and (2) finally by a General Council. All dilatory counsels, however, were anticipated by Aleander, who obtained an imperial mandate for the bull, published it abroad, and began immediately the burning of Luther's books. Erasmus met this with all speed in his anonymous "Acta Academiæ Lovaniensis," in which he sought to discredit the bull as falsified and brought in an unauthorized

way, or at least prematurely and illegally published. He also uncovered Aleander's character to indignant gaze. He then charges that the bull was acknowledged by the University of Louvain through misinformation, deception, craft, that even then the university was not unanimous; that the law faculty was not consulted, etc.; the whole object of Erasmus being to discredit the bull as an invention, or reduce its influence to a minimum. It was perhaps the most daring of all his writings, in fact, one of the boldest anti-Roman pamphlets of that age, and, if printed with his name, might have led to the direst consequences. "It is easy," he says, "to drive Luther out of the libraries, but hard to displace him from the hearts of men, unless his incontestable proofs are refuted, and unless the pope brings forward opposing witnesses from Scripture." And the closing words of the "Acta" ring out in the style of a Von Hutten or a Luther. "They have deceived the world long enough with deceptions and lies. It now asks for illumination. Spirits are prepared to let the truth shine forth; they will not be frightened any longer by the burning of books. And the truth will not be suppressed, even if Luther is to be put down."

The well-known words of our scholar to Prince Frederick of Saxony in a meeting at Cologne, December, 1520, are too good not to be quoted again. The elector asked him confidentially his view concerning Luther. "Luther teaches mainly

right," replied Erasmus, "only I miss the necessary mildness. His chief sin is that he has touched the crown of the pope and the stomachs of the monks."

I have already given the reasons why, as the Reformation advanced and Luther became bolder and more violent, Erasmus took a more unsympathetic relation to it. "It is better to be silent than to attempt left-handed remedies" (Ep. 572). As for him, nothing shall separate him from the Church (Ep. 621). But he was still distrusted by the clerical party, and for safety left Louvain in 1521 for Basel. Here he had his quarrel with Von Hutten (1523), in which I can not enter, nor mete out the blame which should rest on the shoulders of each in that fiery strife. No doubt it helped to embitter Erasmus somewhat against the Lutherans. Then came the book on "Free Will" (1524), already discussed. The same year (title-page, 1523). appeared his little book on confession, "Exomologesis," in which he scathingly exposed the evils of the confessional, and showed that in the hands of many priests it was simply a school of vice, but did not propose its abolition, adding some useful precepts to help restore it to pious uses. His "Modus Orandi Deum" (probably 1526) is an elaborate treatise on prayer, in which he defends prayers to Christ as to God, though the Father is the Source of all things, and provides for the invocation of the saints as a pious custom, though not an article of faith. The Lord's Prayer should be made a model for

all prayers, and all the devotions in the public service of the Church should be held in the language of the people. He composed prayers to the Virgin, and wrote for a nunnery in Cologne his "Virginis et Martyris Comparatio" (1524), in which, without taking back anything previously said on monasticism, he compares favorably the quiet chance for prayers, hymns, and meditation to those virgins who have an inner call for that kind of a life, with the cares of married women, who have no time for these things, but must "please their husbands, scold their servants, and whip their children." These nuns in Cologne used to send him delicacies.

In these last years Erasmus published an excellent treatise on the "Use and Abuse of the Tongue" (1525), comments on several Psalms, and his "Christiani Matrimonii Institutio" (1526), with sound advices, cautious on doctrinal points, yet in spirit and general teaching looking towards the modern non-Catholic view. In his broken, busy old age, he was as active as ever in his Humanistic studies. In 1525 he published an edition of Pliny's "Natural History," in which he tried to restore the text, followed it in 1526 with a translation of some treatises of Galen, and bent himself with heroic diligence to publish decent texts of the Fathers,—Hilarius, 1526, Irenæus, 1526, Ambrose, 1527, Augustine, 1528-9, Epiphanius, 1529, Chrysostom (translation), 1530, Cyprian, 1530, and, after some profane writings, the works of Origen (transla-

tion), over whom he was working at the last. A striking work is his "Ciceronianus, sive de Optimo Dicendo Genere Dialogus" (1528), in which he ridiculed those pedants who made Cicero their *exclusive* model, and therefore refuse to treat Christian themes, thus showing themselves at heart pagans. In 1531 or '32 he published his "Apophthegmata," a dictionary of quotations, with comments. He also wrote prefaces to Aristotle, Livy, St. Basil, and to Demosthenes; "Pious Explanations of the Apostles' Creed, Decalogue, and Lord's Prayer" (a book which Luther attacked); a treatise on preparation for death (1533); and finally the "Ecclesiastes, sive Concionator Evangelicus" (1535), in which this many-sided Reformer-Humanist enters the field of practical theology in a long treatise of 160 folio pages, which, though diffuse, contains "many excellent precepts, many wise and witty remarks, many sparkling anecdotes, and many lively sketches illustrating the manners of the time."

The aged scholar held himself aloof from the Reforming movements in Switzerland, which were going much too fast for him. The publication by Leo Juda of a German translation of some of his words on the Lord's Supper led him to write to the Zürich town council, asking them to advance forcibly against the "unbridled indiscretion of such troublesome men." He reproached the Reformation with dissolving all Church order, leading to a

demoralization in life, and a destruction of Good Learning (Ep. 906). He even withdrew, at least in part, his protests against persecution, and thought that it might be "better to err in this way than permit the unbridled license which prevails in some German cities, in which the pope is Antichrist," etc. His equivocal attitude to the noble Berquin, the French martyr to some of his (Erasmus's) views, is a dark stain on his memory. When the Reformation was introduced into Basel in 1529 he withdrew to the Catholic city of Freiburg in the Breisgau, and wrote from there, on receiving an account of the death of Zwingli and Œcolampadius: "It is well that the two Coryphæi of the Evangelicals have perished (*perierunt*). If it had gone well with them, it would have been all over with us" (Ep. 1206).

Still he took back nothing he had said against Church abuses; still he labored to bring both parties to a mutual concession; still he sharply criticised evils in the Church; still he claimed that the defection of the Church from the life and spirit of the Gospel furnished an essential ground for the defection of the Protestants from her (Ep. 1129); still he was at the head of the mediating party; still he was fiercely attacked by the monks, the Sorbonne, and the strict Catholics. At the Reichstag at Augsburg Melanchthon asked him to intercede with the emperor, and at the request of that great Protestant he wrote his long book "De

Sarcienda Ecclesiæ Concordia" (1533), in which, while in doctrinal points he submits himself to the judgment of the Church, he earnestly exhorts her to sidetrack her abuses, and comply as far as possible in the doctrines in dispute. O, rare Erasmus! What a figure you cut in Church History! On the one hand solemnly condemned for heresies in thirty-two counts by the Doctors of the Sorbonne (1527), on the other fêted and flattered to the last by princes and prelates, and offered the cardinal's hat (declined) by Pope Paul III (1535)!

To be near Froben's loved press in Basel brought him back to that Protestant city in the autumn of 1535. His old enemy, the stone, and gout and rheumatism, were wearing away that poor, frail body, which had given him so much concern, and in which he had labored so indomitably. Dysentery came on. In the circle of learned friends, concerned to the last with literary toil, he breathed out his life, July 12, 1536, without priestly assistance, calling only on the mercy of Christ. They laid his body away with great honor in the cathedral at Basel. Outside of a few bequests to his friends, he gave his property to benevolent foundations.

It is three hundred and seventy-one years this very day since our aged scholar of seventy left this troubled life. But, as W. H. Hutton says, no scholar the world has ever known is so sure of immortality. More and more with every passing year, whether we will or no, his ashes still rule us

from their urn. More and more the Erasmian spirit is coming to its own. Professor Henry Goodwin Smith has admirably crystallized that spirit in the following deposit: (1) The Roman Church to be purified from its corruptions, but not destroyed. A larger, more philosophical, a more tolerant view concerning Rome. (2) Reform by growth of intelligence, by recourse to the originals of Christianity, by doing away abuses. (3) Toleration of differences of opinion. (4) Reducing the number of dogmas, and making religion consist in love and peace and righteousness rather than in definitions. (5) Freedom of the will, which involves, in Smith's opinion, freedom in religion from all external authority. Now, for better or for worse, modern Christendom is penetrated through and through with the Erasmian spirit. In all the five particulars the great Humanist is being avenged of his enemies. But the above deposit is not all of Erasmus: (*a*) His emphasis on reason. Luther's hard words against reason in religion must have been as gall to the mild sanity of our wide-seeing scholar. His old German biographer, Müller, calls him a "rationalizing theologian," and he was that in the best sense. (*b*) But there was nothing Unitarian in his attitude (against Drummond, Froude, Smith, etc.). Passing expressions which seem to point to a careless attitude toward fundamental truth can not fairly be taken to weigh against the deliberate teachings and writings of his

whole life. This method of judging would condemn every teacher that ever lived. The unifying testimony of Erasmus, the touchstone that explains him and his works, is Christ, Christ the divine Lord, Master, and Judge. "I have been taught by Erasmus," said Œcolampadius, "to look for nothing in the Scriptures except Christ." And Christ was still in the old Church in spite of her corruptions.

Now, although this is all true, another thing is also true. If the Reformers had all been Erasmians, we would never have had the Reformation (if I might so say). The Council of Trent proved that the Church of Rome was irreformable, that the scholastic theology, in which her monstrous abuses were rooted, was her ground and rock. That Council was the amplest vindication of Luther and the complete discrediting of Erasmus *as a Reformer*. That Christ is not only Lord and Example (Erasmus), but chiefly Savior (Luther), and that the road to Him is by faith alone,—it is that which has made the modern Christian world. And it is an absolutely true insight which sees in LUTHER THE RELIGIOUS REFORMER the promise of our modern civilization in all its redeeming and saving potencies,—in him, rather than in ERASMUS THE SCHOLAR.

APPENDIX I.

ERASMUS AND THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK.

In 1528 Erasmus published a book ("De Recta Latini Græcique Sermonis Pronunciatione Dialogus") which had so much influence in learned circles that a word ought to be said concerning it. For nearly three thousand years Greek has been a literary and spoken language. Native Greek scholars are convinced that, with the exception of the usual changes undergone by all living tongues, the Greek of to-day is the same language in form and sound that it was in the days of Homer and the dramatists. Just as Arabic scholars maintain that there has been no perceptible change in the pronunciation of Arabic in the last twelve centuries, just as Hebrew rabbis pronounce Hebrew traditionally as it was read in the time of Christ,—so it is held by learned Greeks that the changes in the pronunciation of their language introduced since the Golden Age have been of the slightest kind. But even such changes have been part and parcel of the language itself, unconsciously made in a living continuous tradition. The present pro-

nunciation in Greece, then, is the same in all essentials as the people of Athens talked with each other in the time of Socrates.

Now, when Greek came to be introduced into the West in the Middle Ages, it was this old traditional living pronunciation which was introduced. There was no other. This was the pronunciation of Reuchlin in Germany. All the native Greek scholars in the West pronounced it so, and no one thought of disputing it. But after a time, with the death of these scholars, with the decline of the Greek race, and finally with the almost total disappearance of native Greek teachers from European countries, doubts came to be entertained as to the correctness of this pronunciation. "There was no one to rectify and maintain the pure sounds of pronunciation which, at best, presented peculiar difficulties, and required considerable effort." Still great scholars of Erasmus's day—Aldus, Scaliger, Melanchthon, Œcolampadius—admitted the claim of the pronunciation according to the Greek living tradition as just.

Erasmus changed all that by one of the most extraordinary literary ventures ever made. An Erasmian himself, Gerard Jan Voss (Vossius), tells the story in his "Aristarchus, sivi de Grammatica" (1635, Foertsch's ed., Halle, 1833, I, 79), on the authority of the learned and reputable Ravensberg, who got it from Reschius, Professor of Greek at Louvain. When Erasmus was living

at Louvain, Glareanus came from Paris and told him—knowing that Erasmus was fond of novelty and credulous—that some native Greeks had arrived in Paris, men of marvelous learning, and that they made use of a pronunciation of Greek different from that generally received. For instance they called β Beta, instead of *Vita;* η Eta, instead of *Ita;* αι ai, instead of œ; οι oi, instead of i. On hearing this, Erasmus wrote soon after the Dialogue on the right pronunciation of Greek and Latin in order to appear himself the discoverer or restorer of the true pronunciation.

Erasmus's book is a Dialogue carried on between a lion and a bear on various educational and related subjects. After awhile the bear claims that the pronunciation of the Greek scholars was wrong, that the Greeks had lost their true pronunciation, and that it must now be resuscitated. The true sounds, the bear says, are those of the Dutch letters, with a few sounds borrowed from the French and German. Did Erasmus write this in sober earnest, or was it only a *jeu d'esprit?* Not long after it was written, Erasmus Schmidt of Wittenberg said that his namesake, "as it were, had sucked it out of his fingers." John Stuart Blackie called it "more witty than wise," and Engel thought the best way to destroy its influence would be to reprint it in cheap form and scatter it among the colleges. "You are an Erasmian" would then soon be equivalent to calling an astronomer a Ptolemaist. Blass

thinks it was written in earnest and is a comprehensive discussion. A sober French critic says that, "not only are the proofs which it brings forward against these objections insufficient, but he himself is not prepared to attach great value to his innovation. The title promises something else than that which the book gives, where the author, according to his ingenious and skeptical spirit, puts down many questions without resolving them and without considering them with serious attention. Nothing could be less dogmatic, whether as to substance or form" (A. E. Egger, "Hellenisme en France," Paris, 1869, I, 452).

This judgment of Egger is supported by Erasmus's own attitude. He never took seriously his proposals. He expressly acknowledged more than once the validity of the pronunciation of the native Greek scholars, follows them in his "Colloquies," and uniformly taught their method. And even if this was not the case, his own knowledge of Greek was not sufficient to entitle him to propound a revolutionary theory. He was a man of letters, of brilliant talents, but not a philologist. At any rate, Erasmus's book precipitated discussion. Various reasons contributed to the victory of his suggestion, so that, contrary to his own uniform use and perhaps deeper judgment, the old Greek pronunciation was discontinued in most of the West; each land spoke Greek in its own way, and thus it has come down to my own college days. Since then the

Erasmians have taken their flight, and the Reuchlinians again speak from every Greek chair. See Engel, "Die Ausprache des Griechischen," Jena, 1887; Blass, "Pronunciation of Ancient Greek," translated by Purton, Cambr., 1890; Gennadius in "The Nineteenth Century," 38:681 ff. (Oct. 1895), 39:87 ff. (Jan. 1896).

APPENDIX II.

DID ERASMUS FORGE THE PSEUDO-CYPRIANIC DE DUPLICI MARTYRIO?

In 1530, Erasmus published a new edition of the works of Cyprian. At the close of the collection he printed as genuine the tract "De Duplici Martyrio," and stated on the title-page that it had been found in an old library. The first who doubted its genuineness was the learned Dominican Heinrich von Grave, in the Cologne edition of Erasmus's Cyprian, 1544. He thought its internal evidence made it doubtful, and was inclined to attribute it to Erasmus himself. In Pamelius's edition of Cyprian (Antwerp, 1568), the editor remarked on the style of the treatise, and said its author seemed to be acquainted with the exegesis of Erasmus, whom he believed to be its author. After this, critics were generally agreed that "De Duplici Martyrio" was a falsification, some attributing it to Erasmus, others claiming he was too good a man to do such a thing, or too learned not to conceal his hand better. Erasmus scholars since Hess (1790) have not mentioned the subject. Friedrich Lezius is the

only scholar to give the matter thorough investigation ("Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie," Bonn, 1895, IV, 95-110, 184-243), and he has done it so well that it need never be done again.

This pseudo-Cyprian compares defection from the emperor to the Turks to apostasy from the Church. He refers here to the Osmanlic sultans who became an ever-more threatening danger to Europe in the fifteenth century. He speaks of those who shame Christendom before the heathen. They are they who constantly have the word "Gospel" in their mouth, but do not lead a life corresponding. Nuns leave their cloisters to marry, or to live unchastely. Even Catholic bishops are like wolves among the flock, and make a trade of the Word of God. Monks and nuns have a Pharisaic righteousness; they go through external religious exercises, and under the cover of mock-holiness indulge base passions. Christians are greatly given to drink,—a complaint often made of the Germans in Erasmus's time. The object of the book is to show that a righteous life has just as true a claim on the title of martyrdom as giving one's life in death for the faith, and that this latter is of no value without the former. Martyrdom simply means witness. A pious life glorifies God, and is therefore a genuine martyrdom or witness. Of course martyrdom, ordinarily so called, is highly praised, but it is not the punishment which makes the martyrdom, but the cause, and the spirit with which the

punishment is borne. Gluttony, pride, evil pleasures, avarice, are as bad as sacrificing to idols. He who in the conflicts of this life endures temptation as a good soldier of Christ receives the martyr-crown as truly as he whose blood is spilt. Then let every Christian show himself in all his life a true martyr.

This argument of the book fits Erasmus's case exactly, who, with bodily tortures and with the onsets of extreme Catholics on the one hand and of extreme Protestants on the other, was, in 1529, daily fighting with beasts of Ephesus, and who wished to show that martyrdom, which his opponents declared him incapable of undergoing on account of moral weakness, he was in a true sense enduring. For further light the reader must refer to Lezius's interesting and able essay. Nor with one of Erasmus's training does the forgery reflect on his character, not at least till Ecclesiastes is thrown out of the canon. It is not an "ugly stain on the famous name of the King of the Humanists," as Lezius says (page 243), but a literary fault which he justified under the extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed. Perhaps he thought that with its modern references and Erasmian tone it would deceive no one.

NOTES.

Ch. I, p. 2: Kurtz-Bonwetsch, K. G. 13th Aufl. ii, 9. P. 3: Wittikind, "Res Gestae Sax." iii. 2. Duffield, "Latin Hymns," N. Y., 1889, 149-68. P. 4: Richard de Bury, "Philobiblion," c, 10. P. 5: On Barlaamo see Voigt, II, 107-109, with notes (2 Aufl. 1893). For full titles of works where only authors are given, see the preface to this book. Petrarch, "Ep. rer. senil." vii, I. P. 6: see Voigt, II, with notes. P. 8: On Petrarch, beside Voigt his notes and bibliographical references in the Encyclopedias, see Robinson and Rolfe, "Petrarch," N. Y., 1898, "The Quar. Rev.," Oct., 1878, and "Petrarch's Library" in "Fortnightly Rev.," June, 1906. Thatcher and Schwill have an excellent brief appreciation in "Europe in the Middle Ages," N. Y., 1896, 620-3. P. 10: On Gmisthos Plethon see Voigt, and Meyer in Herzog-Hauck, 3 Aufl., vi, 507, and the bibliography prefixed to the article. P. 11: On Bessarion, see bibliog. to the art. in the Hauck-Herzog, II, 633. Pp. 11-14: I have followed Kurtz-Bonwetsch, K. G., 13 Aufl., II, 37, 1-2. P. 14: see my chapter, "Intellectual Preparation for the Reformation—German Humanism," in the Hurst "Church Hist.," II, 93-100, 1900.

Ch. II, p. 16: Arnot, "Life of James Hamilton, D. D., F. L. S.," 3 ed., Lond., 1870, 497, 520, 522, 531-2, 535, 537-9. P. 17: Nisard, 3 ed., Paris, 1876, 44-5, Erasmus, Letters, Ed. Leyden, 1520. N. B. P. 18: year of birth, Richter, "Erasmus Studien," app. Nichols, 13-4, 474-6. Name, Vischer, p. 30, Max Reich, 221. P. 19: Deventer, see Nichols 16-7; Comp. Vit., Nichols 7.

Ch. III. On the Univer. of Paris, etc., see Nichols, 104 ff., and the authorities he refers to. P. 23: Eras-

mus's opinion of theolog. and phil. teachers in Paris, see Ep. 85, Le Clerc's ed., Nichols, p. 144. On College of Montague, Nichols 10, Colloquies, "Ichthyophagia," or Fish-diet (1523-4). P. 24: Rabelais, "Gargantua, ch. 27. P. 25: letter on use of time, Nichols, 110; incident of maid and mistress, ib, 111 ff. P. 26: Epimenides and the Scotist professors, Nichols, 143-4. P. 27: see remarks by Nichols, 176, Emerton, 49, etc., for the correspondence of this period see Drummond, 45 ff., Nichols, 177 ff.

Ch. IV. Jebb, 5. Stähelin, in Herzog-Hauck, 3 Aufl. (1898), v, 436. Nichols, I, 224. Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," etc., ch. 66, note 114 (ed. Milman, Guizot, and Smith, N. Y., 1880, VI, 457), ch. 66, notes 27-9, VI, 420 (on Chalcondyles); Nichols, 204 (on same). But there seems to have been a widespread belief in the unchastity of the English. Le Clerc, III, 485 F (on Aquinas). On his teaching in Oxford see letter to Colet in Nichols, I, 220-3. Money law of 1489: see Nichols, 226-7. An angel was worth from 6s. 8d. to 10s.

Ch. V. Nichols, I, 229 ff., 240-5. Froude, 50, 51. Nisard, I, 189-90. Amiel, 85. Reference to Adagia: Le Clerc's ed., II, 336 ff., 770 ff., Basel ed., 440.

Ch. VI. Nichols, I, 313 (Ep. 143). Emerton, 96 ("He knew intuitively what it takes most of us a lifetime to find out, that every man must teach himself all that he really and effectively knows; that this is especially true of all linguistic knowledge.") Amiel, 82: "It was a hard task to get hold of Greek in the first years of the sixteenth century, no helps, no lexicons, no grammars. He had to be his own master, as he tells us, and, what is more, to brave the attacks of the theologians, who as late as 1530 forbade the professors in the College de France to expound the sacred books from the Greek and Hebrew without the permission of the university. So about 1500 it is as a study almost

null in Paris." Froude, 39, Lilly, 14, Erasmus, Eps. 132, 154 (on Greek grammar, etc., Nichols, 286, 333). Ep. 134, Nichols, 289 (on editing Jerome), 317-8 (Cicero's Offices); the whole ep. which forms the dedication to the Basel Edition of De Officiis, is printed in the original in an appendix in Nichols, 468-9. On Holland: Ep. 155, Nichols, 333. How he came to write Enchiridion: Nichols, 337-8, Cat. Luc. reprinted by Jortin, "Life of Erasmus," ed. of 1808, III, 105-33, esp. 117. Quotations from Enchiridion, Eng. tr. of 1633, reprint of 1905: 33-5, 189-93 (ch. 11), 196, 153, 158-9. Massaeus, the biographer of Loyola, tells the story. Froude wrongly makes the book Erasmus's New Testament, p. 115, Eng. ed., 122, N. Y. ed. See Lilly, 23 note. The Enchiridion was published in 1501, was at first neglected, but later taken up and circulated widely. There were many editions between 1509 and 1535.

Ch. VII. Nichols, I. 356 (Libanius), 371 (Lucian), Ep. 178, 71 (Ep. 26, on Valla), 97 (Ep. 37: Thucydides), 381 (Ep. 182, to C. Fisher on Valla). Schwahn, "Lorenzo Valla," Berlin, 1896, 36-7. Reusch, "Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher." Bonn, 1883, I, 22. The assertion of Vahlen, "Lorenzo Valla," Wien, 1864, 208, that Valla's Annotations were not suppressed by the Church, is true only of the Ms. copies. Erasmus's printed edition fared otherwise. Nichols, 381-5 (let. to C. Fisher, Ep. 182), 288-9, Ep. 184 (Lucian's Toxaris), 395-6, Ep. 187 (dedicated to Warham), 401-3 (Univer. of Camb. Grace) 404, Ep. 190 (More to Ruthall, preface to Lucian).

Ch. VIII. Ep. 92. Ep. 197, in Ed. of Lucian, 1506, Nichols, 415. The D. D. diploma of Erasmus is printed in Vischer, "Erasmiana," Basel, 1876, 7. Nichols, 418. Ep. 198. De Nolhac puts it more strongly: "In going to Italy his aim was precisely that he might be made at Bologna a doctor in theology." "Érasme en Italie,"

nov. ed., Paris, 1898, 3. De Nolhac, 12, 13, 16-17 (Le Clerc's ed. IX, 361 A), 19-21. This story of Erasmus's danger from the white band is rejected by Drummond, I, 168, Pattison in "Ency. Brit.," 9th ed., Art. Erasmus, and Emerton, 132 ("cock and bull story"), but is accepted with reason by De Nolhac, 19-21, Amiel, 114-5, Lilly, 16, Nichols, 29, and note, 422-3. Erasmus gives the story twice, Le Clerc's ed., III, 1529 E F and 1828 F, 1829 B, and it is also told by his friend and first biographer Rhenanus. Some have been wont in an overcritical spirit to waive Erasmus's letter to Grunnius out of court,—the letter in which he gives this story, details about his compulsory entrance into a monastery, and other biographical matter. But the genuineness and substantial historical accuracy of the life of Erasmus as there given is defended by Max Reich in his "Erasmus: Untersuchungen," etc., Trier, 1896, 220-4, by Nichols, and by Allen in his ed. of Erasmus's letters in Latin, Oxford Univ. Press, 1906. De Nolhac, 21-5 (work in Bologna).

Ch. IX. Lilly, 20, 21. Creighton, "History of the Popes During the Reformation," Lond. and Bost., 1894, V, 180, Lilly, 21 (on Praise of Folly). Froude, 132 (ib.). Consecrate the Eucharist, consecrabant synaxim. Synaxis was elsewhere explained by Erasmus himself:

> Mysticus ille cibus Græci dixere synaxim
> Qui panis vinique palam sub imagine Christum
> Ipsum præsentem vere exhibet.

Praise of Folly, chapters 8, 10 (Nichols, II, 6-8), 6: translations by Lilly, Copner, and Nichols.

Ch. X. Gasquet entered its 6th edition in 1906. Coulton, "Mediæval Studies," No. 1. "The Monastic Legend," Lond., 1905. See also his articles in "Contemporary Review," April, 1906, "Independent Review," June, 1905, and his translation of Salimbene,

("From St. Francis to Dante") Lond., 1907, and the later numbers of his "Mediæval Studies."

Copner, Praise of Folly, transl. 235, 60. Quotations on Monks: "Opus Epis." ed Basel, 1529, 789, 790, 811, 743, 990, 910, 484; "Adagia," ed. Basel, 1523, 587, 444, 500 ff. On his professorship, Ep. 227, Nichols, II, 29. Letter of University to Mountjoy (probable date: fall of 1512), Nichols, II, App. A, 613. On wars of Julius, 48-9, on Aldington, 64 (the documents are in Vischer, "Erasmiana," 9-13, and Knight, "Erasmus," app. pp. xl, xlii). On the "Copia" see Emerton, 207-14.

Ch. XI. Letter to Servatius: see Nichols, I, pp. xxxviii-xliv, II, 139-151. Cf. Emerton, 213-223, Froben: Nichols, II, 160-161. Zasius's testimony, 164. On "Catonis Disticha," see art. "Cato, Dionysius," in "The New International Encyclopedia," IV, 225. A modern edition is by Hanthal, Berlin, 1869. Letter to Grimani, Nichols, II, 187, to the pope, 201-3, of Ammonius to Erasmus, 241-2, dedication to Warham, 247-8, which is reprinted in Jortin, "Erasmus," III, 216-23. Reifferscheid, "Bibl. Patr. Ital.," I, 66.

Ch. XII. For testimonies of Erasmus and others concerning his Greek Testament see Nichols, II, Index s. v. Testament . For Orpius I have an extract from Nichols, 169, and my own translation from documents in Appendix to Jortin, III, 41. On Lee's attack and Erasmus's defense see Drummond, I, 327 ff. Von Bezold, "Geschichte der Deutschen Reformation," Berlin, 1890, 236. For the first four quotations from the Annotations I am indebted to Drummond; for the rest I made my own translations from the Basel edition of the works, 1540, VI, Annotations part, 79, 91, 507, 611, 670. In Matt. 23 he speaks of prelates who "act against the doctrine of Christ, fix and refix laws to their own convenience, exercise tyranny over the people, measure everything for their own gain and dignity, who

by canons for gain catch the people in the meshes of tyranny, who sit not in the seat of the Gospel, but in the seat of Simon or of Magus," References in Froude. On Bible, Froude, 119 (N. Y. ed.), criticism of him by Lilly, 22-3, and Pearson in the "Academy" (Lond.), Nov. 3, 1894, 344. On Erasmus's text see the late Prof. Ezra Abbot in article Bible Text—New Testament in the "Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia," I, 273-4 (rev. ed., 1888).

Ch. XIII. Machiavelli, "The Prince," ch. 18. For Erasmus's "Prince" see Emerton, 255-62. Nichols, II, 121, 271, etc. On the letter to Grunnius see Vischer, "Erasmiana," Basel, 1876; Reich, "Erasmus von Rotterdam: Untersuchungen zu seinem Briefwechsel und Leben," 1509-18, Treves, 1896, 220-4; Nichols, II, 337 ff.

Ch. XIV. Denifle, "Luther und Luthertum in der ersten Entwickelung," Mainz, 1904, 2d ed., rev., I vol. in 3, 1904-6. See my review of this (with mention of anti-Denifle literature) in "American Journal of Theology," April, 1905, 359-73. Letter of May 30, 1519 (Ep. 427), Drummond, II, 20-3. "Opus Epist." ed. Basel, 1529, 390, 420, 252, Seckendorf, "Com. de Lutheranism," I, 96. Hottinger, "Hist. eccl. Saec." XVI, 31, "Op. Ep.," 463, 428. "Opera," ed. Lugd. X, 1631. "Op. Ep.," 828. "Works," X, 1249 ff. See Stichart and Chlebus for Erasmus's relation to Luther.

Ch. XV. Froude, 220-1. "Colloquies," Johnson's Bailey, I, 376 ff., Whitcomb, 172 ff, Basel ed. of Works, 1540. Decree of Sorbonne, 1526: Leyden ed., IX, 928-9, Drummond, II, 246. Luther, "Works," Walch's ed., XXII, 1612 ff. Emerton, 424.

Ch. XVI. Pennington, 196-9; Emerton, 425-6; Lilly, 23. Luther's letter Ep. 726 in Erasmus, translation in Jortin and Emerton. Erasmus's reply in "Op." (Leyden), III, 803 B. See Von Walter, 10-16, for synopsis of Erasmus on the Will. "Luther on the Will," transl. Vaughan, Lord, 1823, 271-3, 137. Second treatise of

Erasmus, Leyden ed., X, 1249 ff. Stichart, 371 ff. Harnack, "History of Dogma," English transl., VII, 203.

Ch. XVII. Albert Lange, II, 144 ff. Tögel, 112-4, where full references are given. Hor. "Ep." I, 2, near end. Glöckner, 32-5, where also ample references are given. Defense of Colloquies: Leyden ed. III, 1052 B, IX, 929 F. Praise of Knowledge, I, 359 D. Heathenism of Renaissance: see references in Glöckner, 39. Modern languages: Richter, "Erasmus Studien" (1891), Anhang B, pp. xx-xxxi; Tögel, 24-5. Compayré, "Hist. Crit.," I, 127, quoted by Tögel, 85. Natural Sciences: Tögel, 62-5. Philosophy: Glöckner, 57-9. Education of girls: Glöckner, 74-6, A. Lange, 149 f. Prof. Woodward of the University of Liverpool has an able and learned book here, of which chapters vi, vii, viii, give the full text in translation of "De Ratione Studii" (1511) and "De Peuris Instituendis," and the Latin of the "Modus Repetendae Lectionis" from the "De Conscribendis Epistolis" (1522).

Ch. XVIII. Chlebus, 1 ff, where references are given. Drummond, II, 371. Maurenbrecher, "Geschichte der Katholischen Reformation," Nördl., 1880, I, 122 ff. Wagenmann, 326. Von Bezold, 236-7. Horawitz, vol. 90, 3 (1878) 387 ff., a discussion and exposition of unpublished letters, followed by the texts of the letters. For creed see Lezius and Stichart, where full quotations and references are given.

Ch. XIX. See Lezius and Stichart. Ellinger, "Philipp Melanchthon: Ein Lebensbild," Berlin, 1902, 366. Drews in "Theol. Rundschau," 1898, 595-608.

Ch. XX. Nichols, II, 778, 386, 401-3, 420-1, 469-73, 479-80. Kalkoff, passim. Spalatin, "Annales," ed, 1718, 29. Stähelin, last part of his article in the Herzog-Hauck, 3 Aufl., vol. 5. Smith, 64 ff, and W. H. Hutton, 411 ff, esp. 428 ff. On the portraits of Erasmus see Hutton, 437-9.

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